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# RESEARCHES IN ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN GEOGRAPHY

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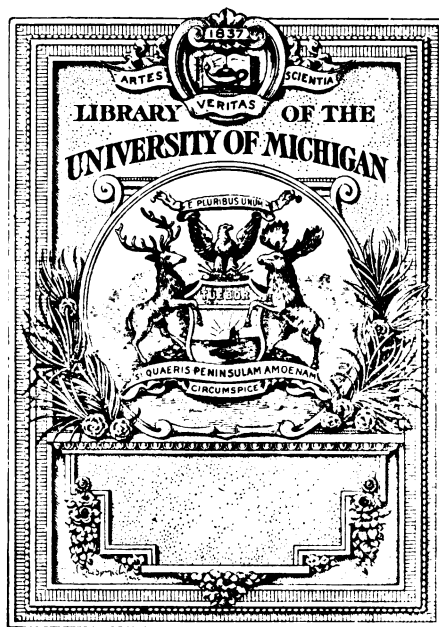
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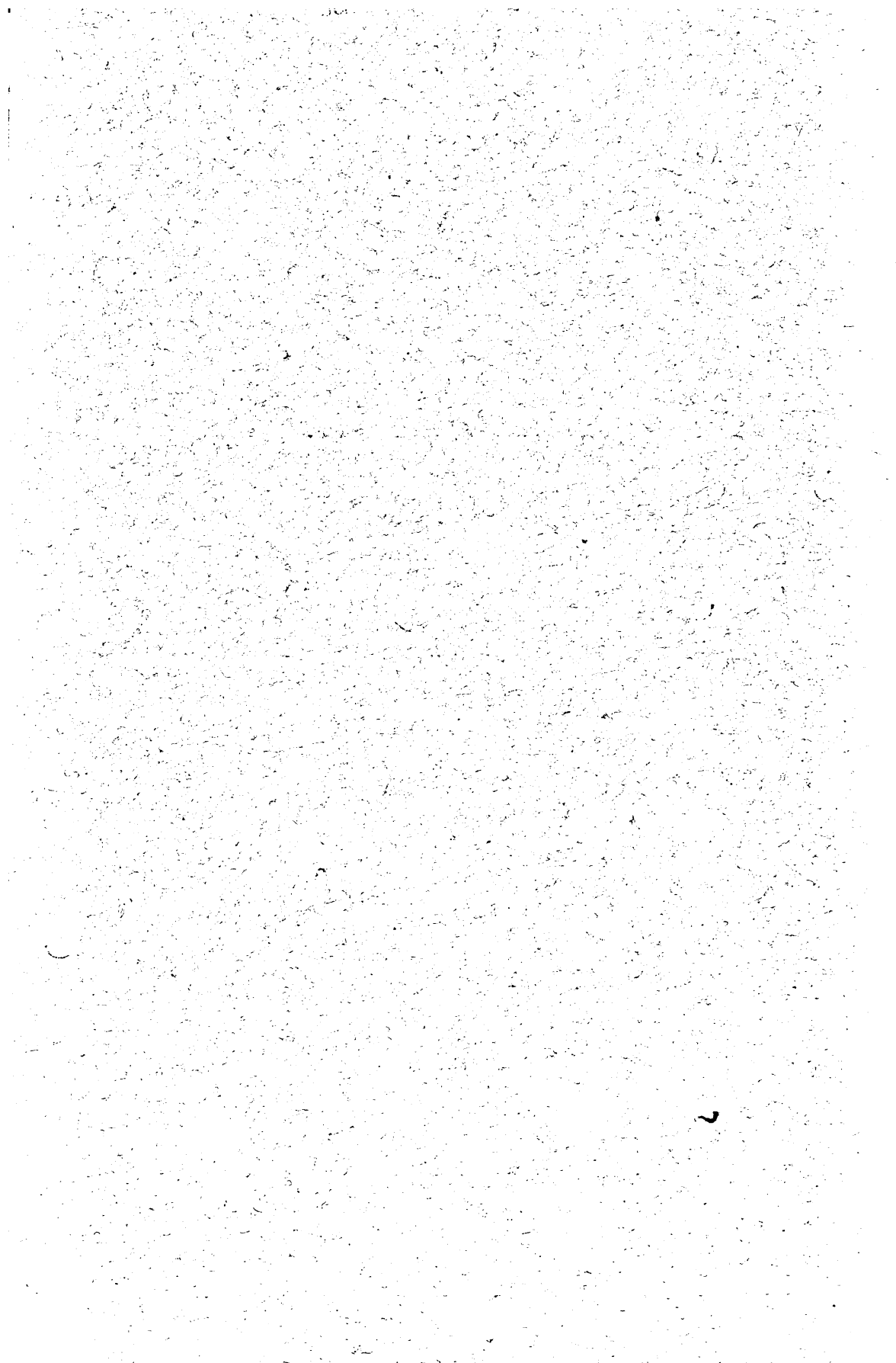
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TO  
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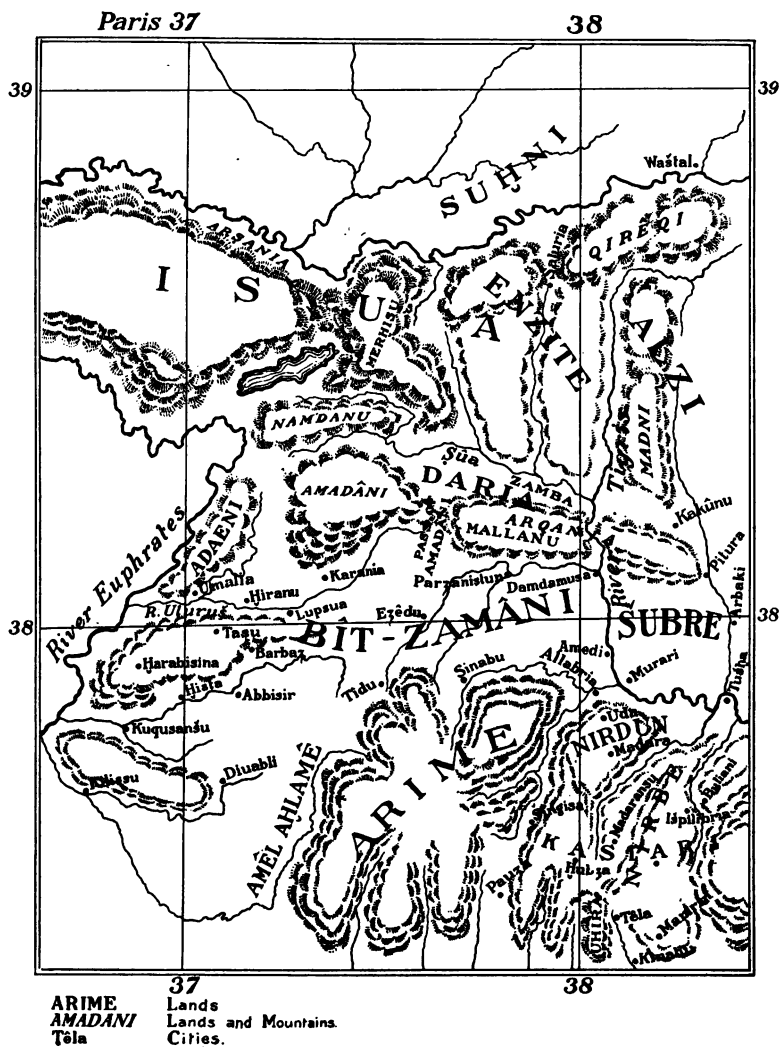






# MAP OF NORTHWESTERN MESOPOTAMIA

*According to the Assyrian Inscriptions*



2-2-090

## RESEARCHES IN ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN GEOGRAPHY

### THE LANDS OF ISUA, DARIA, AND BÎT-ZAMÂNI

#### A. ISUA

TP. I: mâtI-su-a, *An.* 3:88.

Shalm. II: mâtI-šu-a, *Mon.* 2:42.

After the conquest of Saranid and Ammanid, TP. I mentions very briefly the conquest of Isua and Daria.<sup>1</sup>

Saranid and Ammanid were situated in Mount Aruma, the Armenian Taurus, and Ammanid was in its western part. As Tiglath-Pileser was marching from east to west, it would be expected that Isua was west of the Taurus, somewhere in the western part of Anzitene.

This is confirmed by a statement of Shalmaneser II,<sup>2</sup> who says that Enzite was a part of the land of Išua. The situation of Enzite<sup>3</sup> is well known, and as Enzite is here called a province of Išua, that land must be the region between the upper Tigris, Arşania, Euphrates and the river Arghana Su.

So far as the references to the two lands are concerned, there can be no question of their identity. Streck<sup>4</sup> has, however, raised an objection on account of the different sibilants, and has located Isua by the upper Zab and Išua by Enzite. Belck,<sup>5</sup> on the contrary, has identified the two names and located this land in Anzitene.

Isua is grouped with Daria, but Daria is without doubt identical with Diria, which must be assigned to a position around Arghana,<sup>6</sup> and therefore we have clear evidence for both its western and southern boundaries. The change of the sibilants may be accounted for in the lapse of more than 250 years between TP. I and Shalm. II and has its parallels in Subari and Šubart, Subartu and Šubartu.

<sup>1</sup> *An.* 3:88-91.

<sup>2</sup> *Mon.* 2:41-46.

<sup>3</sup> See below under Enzite.

<sup>4</sup> *ZA.*, XIII, p. 96 and XIV, p. 168.

<sup>5</sup> *ZDMG.*, 51, p. 559.

<sup>6</sup> See below.

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## ENZITE

Shalm. II: *mat*En-zi-te, Mon. 2:42, 43, 45, 65; Balw. 2:5; Spring. Insc. 10.<sup>1</sup>

Shalm. II: *mat*En-zi. Lay. 12:18.

Šamš. Ad. IV: *mat*En-zi. An. 2:12.

TP. IV: *mat*En-zi. Ninn. I, 34; Fragn. II, 23.

The form Enzite occurs only in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II; in his Layard inscriptions he uses the form Enzi.

Coming from the city of Kār-Šulmanu-ašarid over Bit-Zamāni, Shalmaneser II reached Enzite after crossing the mountains of Namdanu and Merḥisu.<sup>1</sup> The situation of Enzite, north of Bit-Zamāni and Mount Namdanu of Dirria, south of the river Aršana and west of the Tigris is made certain by this text. In the Balawat inscription Shalmaneser speaks of his march from 'the land of Enzite to the land of Daiaeni.' In the Monolith inscription he reached Daiaeni from Suḥme.

In Layard 12:18 this march appears as starting in Enzi, and the conclusion is that Enzite and Enzi are identical.

Šamši-Adad IV (col. 2:12) gives the boundaries of his kingdom, reaching 'from the city of Zaddi in the land of Akkad unto the land of Enzi.'

In the time of TP. IV (Pl. I, 34) Enzi belonged to Urarṭu, from which he took it.

If my restoration of ABL., 444, obv. 6, is correct, we should in that text read [*mat*En-zi]<sup>2</sup>-te-ni, a province preceding that of Alzi<sup>3</sup> and belonging to Urarṭu in the time of Sennacherib.

Strecker<sup>4</sup> identifies Enzite with the modern Hanzith, between Palu and Arghana, and compares it with the Ἀνζήτα of Ptolemy (13:19), a city of Great Armenia in the name of the same name, otherwise called by the classics Anzitene.

## SALURIA

Shalm. II: *sa*lu-ri-a, Mon. 2:44.

In the city of Saluria Shalmaneser erected his magnificent statue.

<sup>1</sup>Mon. 2:42-45.

<sup>2</sup>It is possible that we should restore [*mat*Me-li]-te-ni.

<sup>3</sup>For Strecker's opinion that Alzi and Enzi are identical, see below p. 23.

<sup>4</sup>ZA., XIII, p. 94.

As he claims to have conquered the entire land of Enzite, Saluria was probably the last city of that land he reached before crossing the Arṣania—the text<sup>1</sup> seems to indicate this—and I should therefore assign a position for it in the northeastern part of Enzite, near the pass of Ammaštub. The city of Saluria was built at the foot of Mount Kireki.

#### KIREKI

Shalm. II: šadKi-ri-e-ki, Mon. 2:44.

In the reading of the text I follow Craig:<sup>2</sup>

š<sup>1</sup>Sa-lu-ri-a KI-TA (=šaplu) šad(?)Ki-ri-e-ki. Peiser<sup>3</sup> reads: š<sup>1</sup>Sa-lu-ri a-šar(?) me-ti-ki ri-e-ki, "in Saluri a place of long marches," which does not seem to give any fitting sense.

#### MERḪISU

Shalm. II: šadMe-ir-ḫi-su,<sup>4</sup> Mon. 2:41;

AND

#### NAMDANU

Shalm. II: šadNa-am-da-a-nu, Mon. 2:41.

Shalmaneser II crossed the mountains of Namdanu and Merḫisu on his march from Bit-Zamāni to Enzite. Their exact position either south or north of Dirria, is at present impossible to decide.

Dirria itself was a mountainous land, and we know two of its mountains, west of the Tigris, Arqania and Amadani. Further west, by the Euphrates, was the highland of Adani.

#### ADĀNI

TP. I: matA-da-e-ni, An. 4:79; Anp. III: matA-da-ni, An. 3:98.

In the list of Nairi-lands, which Tig. Pil. I conquered, the lands of Adaeni and Kirini are grouped together. They are preceded by the land of Abaeni and followed by the land of Albaia. There is, however, no definite order in this list—two or three names are grouped together as geographically connected—but these groups are taken promiscuously.

In the annals of Ašurnasirpal III (An. 3:79-99) the location of this land is quite well defined. He reached the cities of this

<sup>1</sup>See under Enzite.

<sup>3</sup>KB., I, p. 164.

<sup>2</sup>The Monolith Inscription, Shalmaneser II.

<sup>4</sup>The reading of this sign is doubtful.

land by marching up-stream along the Euphrates, and as he mentions no crossing of the river we are safe in concluding that he marched east of the Euphrates. Amadani is the mountain WNW of Arghana and corresponds to the modern Arghana Maden. As he reached Amadani from the land of Adani, that land should be located to the west or southwest of Arghana Maden.

The following cities lay within the land of Adani:

#### UMALIA

Anp. III: <sup>a1</sup>U-ma-li-a, *An.* 3:97;

#### HIRĀNU

Anp. III: <sup>a1</sup>Hi-ra-a-nu, *An.* 3:97; Johns, *ADD.*: <sup>a1</sup>Hi-ra-nu, [210] K. 7682, rv. 16.

#### KARANIA

TP. I: <sup>mat</sup>Ki-ri-ni, *An.* 4:80; Anp. III: <sup>a1</sup>Ka-ra-ni-a, *An.* 3:99.

Umalia was evidently further southwest, and east or northeast of it was Hirānu. Karania was located between Adani and the pass of Amadani. In the time of TP. I, it was an independent land, or city district, but in the time of Ašurnāširpal it had been laid under the rule of Adani.

#### B. DARIA

TP. I: <sup>mat</sup>Da-ri-a, *An.* 3:88; Anp. III: <sup>mat</sup>Dir-ri-a, *An.* 3:100.

Daria and Isua are grouped together by TP. I.

Ašurnāširpal reached the land of Dirria, coming from the west over Adani and Karania.

Arqania has generally and without doubt rightly been identified with the modern Arghana. Amadani I would identify with modern Arghana Maden, and the pass of Amadani would then lie between Arghana and Arghana Maden. Dirria would be the land west of the Tigris, south of Egil.

Arqania extended apparently to the eastern bank of the Tigris, and there is another land, Dirra,<sup>1</sup> mentioned by Ašurnāširpal and conquered by him in his fifth year. It is possible that Dirria and Dirra are identical, but as long as there is a differentiation in the spelling of the two names, observed by the same king and in the same inscription, and the former land was west, the latter

<sup>1</sup>III B. 6:49, Dirra is called a city of the land of Nairi, and mentioned with Nirdun.

east, of the Tigris, I shall confine Daria-Dirria to the territory near Egil, west of the Tigris. This does not exclude the possibility that the two territories were united under one king in the time of Ašurnasirpal, although there is no statement to that effect in the inscriptions. Sanda<sup>1</sup> has reached the same conclusions. Streck<sup>2</sup> argues for a Daria on the upper Zab and identifies Dirria and Dirra, locating it on the upper Tigris, although he is not clear as to its exact location. Belck<sup>3</sup> identifies Daria, Dirria and Dirra and locates it on the upper Tigris by Arghana.

## AMADANA

TP. I: *šad*A-ma-da-na, *An.* 4:58.

Anp. III: *šad*A-ma-da-ni, *An.* 3:100, 101, 104.

Amadana occurs in the Nairi mountain list of TP. I between the mountains of Elama and Elḫiṣ. There is no positive evidence for identifying it with Amadani, but TP. I had visited the region of Daria, where Amadani is located; from which it may be fairly assumed that the two names are identical. Above I have identified Amadani with the modern Arghana Maden.

## ARQANIA

Anp. III: *šad*Ar-ḫa-ni-a, *An.* 3:101 bis, 103.

Arqania is identical with the modern Arghana. It extended, however, east of the Tigris. The 'pass of Amadani' ran between the mountains of Amadani and Arqania, west of the Euphrates; the 'pass of Madni' would likewise be regarded as running between the mountains of Madni and Arqania, east of the Tigris. The modern Sivan Ma'den lies close by Arghana Maden and may represent the inscriptional 'pass of Madni.'

## MALLĀNU

Anp. III: *mat*Mal-la-a-nu, *An.* 3:101 bis.

This district lay within Mount Arqania, west of the Tigris.

## ZAMBA

Anp. III: *mat*Za-am-ba, *An.* 3:102.

Zamba was the land between Mount Arqania and the rivers Šūa and Tigris, in the neighborhood of modern Egil.

<sup>1</sup>MVG., VII 2, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup>ZDMG., 51, p. 559.

<sup>3</sup>ZA., XIV, p. 163.



## ȘŪA

Anp. III: *ma*rȘu-ŭ-a, Anp. 3:102.

I have identified this river with the river running into the Tigris by Egil, because Ašurnāširpal III evidently was on the north side of Arqania after having entered the pass of Amadani; and after the raid on the shores of the Șŭa and the Tigris he proceeds south through the same pass of Amadani to the city of Parzaništun.

## PARZANIŠTUN

Anp. III: <sup>a</sup>1Par-za-ni-iš-tu-un, An. 3:104.

*ABL.*: <sup>a</sup>1Par-za-ni-iš[-tu-un], [147] K. 1170, rv. 7.

Johns, *ADD.*: <sup>a</sup>1Par-za-ni-iš-ta, [742] 79-7-8, 309, obv. 28.

The city of Parzaništun was situated on the border between Dirria and Bit-Zamāni. Ašurnāširpal<sup>1</sup> reached it on his way from the pass of Mount Amadani to the city of Damdammusa.<sup>1</sup>

As Damdammusa was the outlying fortress of Bit-Zamāni, to the north, it is probable that Parzaništun did not belong to the province of Bit-Zamāni, but was either an independent city, or else belonged to Dirria.

My restoration of this name in *ABL.*, 147, I regard as certain. It occurs in a letter of Ašur-rișŭa, the Turtan of Sennacherib in the land of Kurḫi, and as he also mentions the cities of Ištār-durāni and Dūr-Šamaš, which were situated in the eastern part of Kurḫi, he probably refers to some revolt extending from the city of Parzaništun on the Tigris in the west to Dūr-Šamaš in the east, or possibly he refers to some gathering of troops in that region—the mutilated text permitting no certain conclusion.

## C. BÎT-ZAMĀNI

Anp. III: <sup>a</sup>p<sup>1</sup>1Za-ma-ni, An. 2:12, 118; 3:105; <sup>a</sup>p<sup>1</sup>1Za-ma-a-ni, Mon. K. rv. 36, 37.

Shalm. II: *ma*tBit-Za-ma-a-ni, Mon. 2:41; Bit-*ma*tZa-ma-a-ni, Ob. 143; <sup>a</sup>1Bit-Za-ma-a-ni, Mon. 2:41.

*ABL.*: *ma*tBit-Za-ma-ni, [245] K. 513, rv. 6; *ma*tBit-Za-ma-ni, [757] S. 548, S. 887, obv. 8.

Johns, *ADD.*: *ma*tBit-Za-ma-a-ni, [125] K. 423, obv. 5; *ma*tBit-Za-ma-ni, [1119] R<sup>m</sup> 464, col. II, l. 6; <sup>a</sup>1Bit-Za-ma-ni, [863] K. 13199, obv. 4; [*ma*]<sup>t</sup>Bit-Za-ma-ni, [915] S. 1001, col. II, l. 12.

*Bez. Cat.*: Bit-Za-am-ma-nu, 82-5-22, 106, obv. 9.

<sup>1</sup> Ašurnāširpal III, An. 3:104-105.

Zamânu is the name of the founder of the dynasty of Bît-Zamâni. In the time of Ašurnāširpal, the king of the district, over which this dynasty ruled, is still referred to as the 'son,' i. e., the successor on the throne, of Zamâni. From the time of Shalmaneser II it is referred to as a bitu, or "dynasty," with its territory. Originally this dynasty was confined to a single city, but it early extended its power over the cities round about.

Zamâni is the region around Diyâr-Bekr, west of the Tigris, immediately before that river turns eastward. Šubria is the land north of the Tigris, and Nîrdun is south of Šubria and the Tigris in the western part of Kašiari; Urumu is south of Tušḫa on the southern slopes of Kašiari, and Nairi included, in the time of Ašurnāširpal, the districts of Arime.

Ammeba'la, who was king of Zamâni in the time of Ašurnāširpal, was a friend of Assyria, but his friendship with Ašurnāširpal was not to the liking of his people, and his nobles revolted and slew him. Ašurnāširpal then left the city of Tušḫa and marched to Zamâni to avenge the murder of his friend.<sup>1</sup> The people had placed a certain Bur-Rammâni on the throne of Zamâni, but Ašurnāširpal slew him, flayed him and spread his skin upon the wall of the city of Sinabu, and appointed Ilânu, a brother of Amme'bala, as king of Zamâni.<sup>2</sup> But Ilâni also revolted, perhaps under pressure from his people. Ašurnāširpal, who was then in Dirria, hurried southward, quelled the rebellion, and punished the offenders.<sup>3</sup>

Ilâni's successor is not named. It is significant that Amedi is called his "royal city" or capital, because it points the fact that even Bît-Zamâni was not an Assyrian province in the time of Ašurnāširpal III.

Shalmaneser II marched through Bît-Zamâni on his way from Bît-Adini to Enzite.<sup>4</sup> Twenty-five years later he sent his Turtan to Urarṭu, who reached that land by a march around Kašiari and Bît-Zamâni.<sup>5</sup>

In the contracts Bît-Zamâni appears both as a land and as a city. In the letter, *ABL.*, No. 757, Šar-êmurâni includes

<sup>1</sup> Ašurnāširpal III, *Annals*, II: 118-25.

<sup>2</sup> *Annals*, III, 104-9.

<sup>3</sup> Ob. 141-43.

<sup>4</sup> Mon. of Kurkh., rv. 42, 43.

<sup>5</sup> Shalmaneser II, Mon. 2: 40, 41.

the land of Bīt-Zamāni in the greeting to King Sargon. This letter was written about 721 B. C., for this formula of greeting seems to indicate that Šar-ēmurāni was governor of Bīt-Zamāni, and he must then be assigned to the period between Marduk-bēl-ušur and Upaḥḥar-Bēl. The other letter, *ABL.*, 245, was written by Ašur-bēl-udannin, concerning some fugitives who had been brought back from the mountains and detained in the land of Bīt-Zamāni.

The name Zamāni is probably the prototype of the classic *Σωφηνή* (Strabo xi, 521, 522, 527) and *Σωφανηνή* (Dion. Cass. xxxvi, 36; *Proc. de aedif.* iii, 2, *Bel. Pers.* i, 21; *Plut. Lucul.* 24, *Pomp.* 83; *Tac. Ann.* xii, 7). It was situated between the Euphrates and the upper Tigris round the city of

#### AMEDI

Anp. III: <sup>a1</sup>A-me-di, *An.* 3:107, 109.

Šamš. Ad. IV: <sup>a1</sup>A-me-di, *An.* 1:49.

Johns, *ADD.*: <sup>a1</sup>A-me-di, [372] 82-5-22, 139, rv. 5; <sup>a1</sup>A-mi-di, [942] K. 6367, rv. 8; [<sup>a1</sup>]A-me-du, [951] K. 276, rv. 3.

Ep. lists: <sup>a1</sup>A-me-di, years 800, 762, 726, 705 B. C.

Amedi was the capital of Bīt-Zamāni. For references to it by Ašurnaširpal, see above under Bīt-Zamāni. It was among the cities that joined the great rebellion against Shalmaneser II and Šamši-Adad IV.<sup>1</sup> In the letters, the city of Amedi is not mentioned, but we possess no less than five letters from its governor, Upaḥḥar-Bēl, Eponym 705 B. C., namely *ABL.*, Nos. 200, 201, 424, 548, and 732. They are all addressed to King Sargon, and two of them are very important for the history of Urarṭu. Besides Šar-ēmurāni, mentioned above, we know the names of five of its governors, who were vested with the Eponym-office: Ilai, 800 B. C.; Ṭab-Bēl, 762 B. C.; Marduk-bēl-ušur, 726 B. C.; Upaḥḥar-Bēl, 705 B. C.; Laite-ilu, post canon-eponym (K. 6367).

Amedi is identical with the classical Amida<sup>2</sup> (Amm. Marc. xviii, 9:1, 2; xix, 2:14; *Proc. bell. Pers.* 1, 7; *Proc. de aedif.* 3, 1; Faust. Byz. 4, 24). It was the capital of Sophene or Sophanene, a south Armenian principality, and was fortified by

<sup>1</sup> Šamši-Adad IV, *An.* 1:49.

<sup>2</sup> *Amida*.

Emperor Constantine. It was also the capital of the Roman province of Mesopotamia, and is still called Kara-Amid—**امد**, **امد**—although generally known, since the Arabic conquest, by the name of the province, Diyâr-Bekr. It was located on the right bank of the Tigris, a little to the north of its bend eastward.

## DAMDAMUSA

Anp. III: <sup>a1</sup>Da-am-da-mu-sa, *An.* 1:103, 110; <sup>a1</sup>Dam-da-mu-sa, Slab. 27; <sup>a1</sup>Dam-dam-mu-sa, *An.* 3:105; <sup>a1</sup>Dam-am-da-mu-sa, Mon. K., rv. 48, 53.

Ašurnāširpal III says that he received information that Assyrians, whom Shalmaneser I had settled in the city of Ḫalzi-Luḫa, had revolted and under their governor, Ḫulai, gone and captured the city of Damdamusa. Ašurnāširpal III captured the cities of Ḫulai—Kinabu and Mariru—and Ḫulai himself was flayed and his skin spread upon the wall of the city of Damdamusa.

In the revolt of Ilāni, governor of Zamāni, Ašurnāširpal III reached the city of Damdamusa from Parzaništun, and from Damdamusa he went to Amedi. Damdamusa was, consequently, situated north of Amedi. It may also be inferred that it lay near by or on the Tigris on its western bank, because this is the first city of Zamāni that Ḫulai, who evidently marched through Šubria, reached and captured. In Damdamusa Ašurnāširpal built granaries<sup>1</sup> for storing the grain of Šubria, and this would imply that the city would be near the Tigris, over which the people of Šubria had to transport their tax-corn. Had it been inland, the Šubrians would have found it more convenient to ship their grain to Tušḫa, which lay south of them, on the southern bank of the Tigris.

## ADMAŠ

*ABL.*: <sup>maš</sup>Ḫal-ši-Ad-maš,<sup>2</sup> [43] K. 122, obv. 19; <sup>maš</sup>Ḫal-ši-Ad-maš<sup>2</sup>-ai, [245] K. 513, obv. 9.

The situation of the land of the fortress of Admaš is at present uncertain. In *ABL.*, No. 43, it is among the cities, delinquent in their contributions to the temple of Aššur. It occurs there next after

<sup>1</sup>Ašurnāširpal III, Mon. of Kurkh, rv. 53.

<sup>2</sup>Or Bar. Par.

Isana, but the order in this letter has hardly any geographical significance. More important is *ABL.*, No. 245, where it is coupled with Bit-Zamāni and Mount Iasume, which may be identical with Mount Sumu<sup>1</sup> in Bit Adini, southwest of Bit-Zamāni.

## SINABU

TP. I: <sup>a1</sup>Ši-na-mu, Brok. ob. 3:14; Anp. III: <sup>a1</sup>Si-na-bu. Mon. K., rv. 42, 43, 48.

Bur-ramānu,<sup>2</sup> the rebel king of Bit-Zamāni was captured, flayed and his skin was spread upon the wall of the city of Sinabu. That city had been fortified by Shalmaneser I, but was seized by the Arameans.<sup>3</sup> It is evident that the cities of Sinabu and Tīdu were situated quite far southwest toward Karadja-Dagh, because they served as granaries for the Arameans living on that mountain.<sup>4</sup>

Streck<sup>5</sup> claims, that "in der grossen Annalen-inschrift führt dieselbe Stadt (Sinabu) den Namen Kinabu . . . und wird als Festung des genannten Ḫulai<sup>6</sup> von Ašurnaširpal erobert," and again: "Gemäss Ašurn. I, 106 lag Sinabu ganz nahe beim Kaširi-Gebirge." The fact is that Kinabu lay within Kaširi, in southern Nirbe near Tēla and was the fortress of Ḫulai, while Sinabu was located near Karadja-Dagh, and was the fortress of Bur-Ramānu. There is no connection between the two cities whatever, and the war against Kinabu precedes that against Sinabu by at least three years.

Streck<sup>7</sup> likewise identifies with Sinabu the city of Šinamu, belonging to the land of Arime,<sup>8</sup> and this identification is probably correct.

## TĪDU

Anp. III: <sup>a1</sup>Ti-i-du, Mon. K., rv. 43; <sup>a1</sup>Ti-i-di, Mon. K., rv. 48.

Šamš. Ad. IV: <sup>a1</sup>Tīdu, *An.* 1:47.

Johns, *ADD.*: <sup>a1</sup>Ti-i-te, [877] K. 1572, obv. 9.

According to Ašurnaširpal III,<sup>9</sup> Tīdu lay on the border be-

<sup>1</sup> Shalmaneser II, Mon. 2:40.

<sup>2</sup> See above, under Bit-Zamāni, p. 350.

<sup>3</sup> Ašurnaširpal III, Mon. of Kurkh, rv. 43-48.

<sup>4</sup> Mon. of Kurkh, rv. 47-48

<sup>5</sup> *ZA.*, XIII, p. 74.

<sup>6</sup> Nowhere is it stated that Ḫulai had anything to do with the fortress of Sinabu, which was in the possession of Bur-Ramānu.

<sup>7</sup> *ZA.*, XIII, p. 74.

<sup>8</sup> Brok. ob. 3:13-14.

<sup>9</sup> For references, see above under Sinabu.

tween Bit-Zamâni and Aram-Naharaim. This city had joined the revolt against Shalmaneser II, and in the list of Šamši-Adad IV, it is followed by the cities of Nabula and Kapa of Bit-Adini. According to this and to the order in the Ašurnasirpal inscription, Tīdu lay west of Sinabu.

#### IZZÊDA

TP. IV: <sup>1</sup>Iz-zi-e-da, *An.* 81; Nimr. I, 33, <sup>2</sup>[Iz]-zi-da, Frag. 2, l. 17.

ABL.: <sup>3</sup>E-zi-ad, [424] S. 760, rv. 1; E-za-du, [424] S. 760, rv. 20(?)

The city of Izzêda is found, among the historical inscriptions, only in those of Tiglath-Pileser IV. The annal-inscription, which has a reference to it, is very much mutilated. Streck<sup>1</sup> refers to it as a city of Urarṭu, but admits that several of the Urarṭean-cities, mentioned in the inscriptions of TP. IV, may have lain in the land of Enzi. Urarṭu is to him the land around the lake of Van, and in that region or in Enzi we should accordingly look for this city.

Rost, who published these inscriptions, has, perhaps more than anyone else, paid special attention to the history of Tiglath-Pileser IV, and in his *Beiträge* and in the Introduction to the transliteration and translation of these texts, he has attempted to locate the lands and cities, mentioned in these texts. But Rost also is undecided. Once<sup>2</sup> he locates the cities of Izzida, Ququ-sanšu and Ḥarbisina in Kilḫi (= Kurḫi) or Ulluba, and again<sup>3</sup> he locates Ḥarabisina and the river Uluruš near the lake of Van. Kurḫi is the land north of Tigris (east-west course) and east of that river (the upper north-south course).<sup>4</sup> Ullubu was a part of Kurḫi,<sup>5</sup> but that land is not known to have extended west of the upper Tigris, and it is in that region, west of the Tigris, that we must look for the city of Izzêda. Rost<sup>6</sup> admits that the city of Kummūḫi, and the kings of Agusi, Milid, Gargum and Sam'al were vassals of Sarduri II of Urarṭu. With these allies the king of Urarṭu prepared an attack on Tiglath-Pileser IV, while the latter was occupied in besieging the city of Arpad, which had been taken from Assyria by Urarṭu.

<sup>1</sup> ZA., XIV, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction to TP. III, p. xx.

<sup>3</sup> *Anp.* III, *An.* 3: 108.

<sup>4</sup> Introduction to TP. III, p. xviii.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxvii.

<sup>6</sup> TP. III, Nimr. I, 28.

Rost then reasons that Tiglath-Pileser IV was too weak to attack his formidable foe and his allies so near the city of Arpad, and that he therefore must have crossed the Euphrates, probably by Kār-Šulman-ašarid, and then proceeded to the cities of Ḫalpi and Kištan, which belonged to the king of the city of Kummūḫi, and where he fought the famous battle against Sardurri. From there Tiglath-Pileser IV pursued the king of Urarṭu as far as the Euphrates, north of Amedi, whereafter he made a raid on the cities of Izzêda.

It should, however, be remembered that TP. IV does not state that he had crossed the Euphrates before the battle of Ḫalpi, which city belonged to Kummūḫi, and this land did not extend east of the Euphrates. That river he reached first at the "bridge of Euphrates,"<sup>1</sup> which most probably should be located opposite Mount Amadani,<sup>2</sup> and from there he made the raid of the cities of Ququsanšu, Ḫarbisina and Izzêda, after which he turned westward against Matī'lu of Agusi and the other vassals of Urarṭu, west of the Euphrates. Kurḫi and Ulluba are not mentioned in this raid, nor is it likely that the Assyrian king would have crossed the Tigris without mentioning it, especially as he was bent on his campaign against the Urarṭean districts west of the Euphrates. Seven years later Tiglath-Pileser IV made another campaign against Urarṭu and especially against that district in which the above-mentioned cities were located, and that campaign was conducted east of the Euphrates. He says:

In [the city of . . . ] of the land of Til-Aššuri [ . . . I erected] an obelisk [ . . . and made] pure offerings to god Šur-tu, who resides in the land of Til-Aššuri. The cities of Niggu [ . . . ], Ḫista, Ḫarbisina, Barbaz, Tasa, unto the river Uluruš I conquered, their soldiers I killed, 8,650 inhabitants [ . . . ] horses, 300 mules, 660 asses, 1,350 heads of cattle, 19,000 sheep I brought away, I destroyed, laid waste and burned with fire and their cities I added to the border of Assyria.<sup>3</sup>

It is true that the city of Izzêda is not mentioned in this passage, still it may have occurred in one of the lacunae of the text, but the mention of the city of Ḫarbasina makes it certain that

<sup>1</sup> TP. IV, An. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lehmann, *ZE.*, 1901, pp. 189 and 197.

<sup>3</sup> Tiglath-Pileser IV, An. 176-79.

this campaign was conducted in the same region as the raid in 743 B. C. These cities were located on the border of Assyria, therefore, somewhere west of Bît-Zamâni and Arime and north of Bît-Adini. They are also mentioned together with the land of Til-Aššuri, and Esarhaddon<sup>1</sup> informs us that that was another name for Mitani, which was located on the upper Euphrates.

These conclusions are verified by another inscription of Tiglath-Pileser IV, the so-called Nimrud Inscription, No I:

The border land of the city of Kummūḫi', the cities of Ẓilissa, Izzêda, Diuabli, Abbissir, Ḥarbisinna, Tasa, the land of Enzi, the cities of Anganu and Benzu, fortresses of the land of Uraṭu, Kallama, its river, I conquered and added to the land of Assyria, and placed (them) under the province of the Turtan and the province of Na'ri.<sup>2</sup>

The 'border land of the city of Kummūḫi,' that could be added to the land of Assyria and placed under the governor of Na'ri, must be a land east of Kummūḫi = Komagene, and also east of the Euphrates, as Kummūḫi bordered on that river.<sup>3</sup> The cities of Ẓilissa, Izzêda, etc., would then lie between this borderland of Kummūḫi and the land of Enzi, on the border of Assyria, that is somewhere west of Bît-Zamâni.

This is still further verified by a reference in *ABL.*, No. 424, to the city of Eziaḏ, which undoubtedly is identical with the city of Izzêda of the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser IV. Streck failed to see the identity of the two names and dismisses the subject by declaring that Eziaḏ was a city of Uraṭu: "Eziaḏ: <sup>a1</sup>E-zi-at: Sm. 760, rv. 1, und Ḥarda <sup>a1</sup>Ḥa-ar-da: Sm. 760, obv. 11, die beide zusammen mit Turuṣpa auftreten."<sup>4</sup> This letter does not, however, leave us in such uncertainty about the city of Eziaḏ and its connection with the cities of Ḥarda and Turuṣpa. It is a report to King Sargon from Upaḥḥar-Bêl, governor of the city of Amedi and Eponym 705 B. C. He had

<sup>1</sup> Prim. A, 2:23; Broken Prim. 3:14.

<sup>2</sup> Tiglath-Pileser IV, Nimr. Ins., ll. 33-36.

<sup>3</sup> Anp. III, An. 3:96; Shalm. II, Mon. I, 37.

<sup>4</sup> ZA., XIV, p. 133.



sent out scouts to ascertain the doings of King Argista of Urarṭu and those scouts reported:

The governor opposite us (and) the vice-governor with him keep watch in the city of Ḥarda opposite the Sukallu (and they say): city after city unto the city of Turuṣpa is in battle array (obv. 9-14).

The city of Ḥarda or Ḥarida<sup>1</sup> was located on the bank of the Euphrates near the land of Suḫi, and the statement above proves that the kingdom of Urarṭu extended southwest at least as far as Ḥarda in Suḫi. It shows further that the governor opposite Amedi was an Urarṭean vassal and was hostile to Assyria. This hostility had at this time grown so bitter, that Upaḫḫar-Bēl had been forced to take his men, who were employed to cut beams, presumably for the building-operations in Dūr-Šarrukīn,<sup>2</sup> and send them into the war, and several of them had been killed or wounded (rv. 6-8), and he could therefore not send down the beams as fast as the Assyrian king might expect them:

"The beams, which were stored in the city of Eziaḍ—I sent the Ituean with the mayor and dispatched (them) to the war" (rv. 1-4), says U-paḫ-ḫar-Bēl.

This makes it evident, that the city of Eziaḍ was under the jurisdiction of the governor of Amedi and therefore belonged to Bit-Zamāni. There is no evidence in the inscriptions, that Bit-Zamāni extended east of the Tigris—it is the modern province of Diyār-Bekr, and Eziaḍ must be looked for west of that river, and somewhere midway between the Tigris and the Euphrates, because it belonged, in the beginning of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser IV, to Urarṭu and its province, opposite Amedi. It is also probable, if not certain, that the beams, spoken of above, were to be floated<sup>3</sup> down the river to Nineveh and Dūr-Šarrukīn, and as they were stored up in the city of Eziaḍ, it may be presumed that this city was located on a western tributary of the Upper Tigris, probably the one North of Amedi.

The other cities of Urarṭu, between Bit-Zamāni and the Euphrates were:

<sup>1</sup> Anp. III, An. 3:14, 15, 34, 37.

<sup>2</sup> Compare ABL., No. 138, rv. 11, and Johnston, *Assyr. Epist. Lit.* p. 151.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to have been the general means of transportation of beams from the Tigris' districts, and is expressly so stated by Ša-Aššur-dubbu of Tušḫa, ABL., No. 706, rv. 10.

## QILISSA

TP. IV: <sup>a1</sup>Qi-li-is-sa, Nimr. I, 83.

## KUQUSANŠU

TP. IV: <sup>a1</sup>Ku-qu-sa-an-šu, An. 77.

## DIUABLI

TP. IV: <sup>a1</sup>Di-ú-a-ab-li, Nimr. I, 83.

## ABBISIR

TP. IV: <sup>a1</sup>Ab-bi-is-ir, Nimr. I, 84.

## XISTA

TP. IV: <sup>a1</sup>Hi-is-ta, An. 177.

## XABABISINA

TP. IV: <sup>a1</sup>Ha-ra-bi-si-na, An. 177; Nimr. I: 84; [<sup>a1</sup>Ha]-ri-bi-si-na, An. 78.

## BARBAZ

TP. IV: <sup>a1</sup>Ba-ar-ba-az, An. 177.

## TASA

TP. IV: <sup>a1</sup>Ta-sa, An. 177, Nimr. I, 84.

## LUPSUA

TP. IV: <sup>a1</sup>Lup-su-a, Fragm. II, 14.

ABL.: <sup>a1</sup>La-ap-si-a, [610] K. 1142, obv. 11.

It is not certain that these two names are identical, nor that the city of Lupsua belongs to this group of cities.

## ULURUŠ

TP. IV: <sup>a1</sup>U-lu-ru-uš, An. 177.

Whether this is an eastern tributary of the Euphrates<sup>1</sup> or a western<sup>2</sup> of the Tigris, and in that case the one north of Amedi, is impossible to decide, but the former is the more probable.

<sup>1</sup> Kizil Chibuk.

<sup>2</sup> Devetged-su.

## ABAI

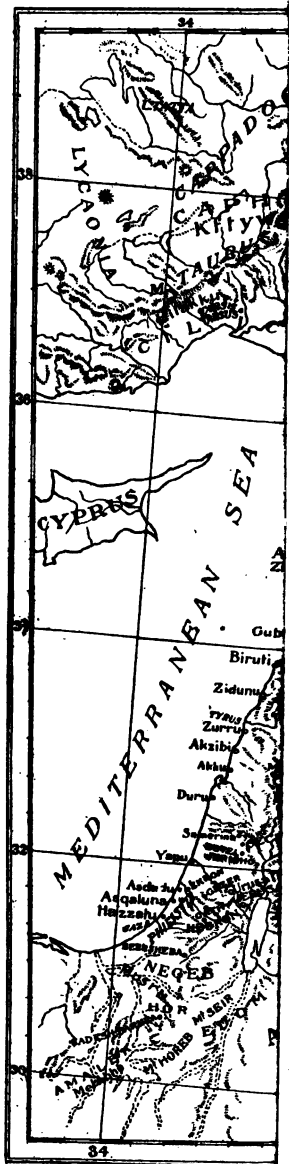
<sup>a1</sup>A.BA.AI: [509] 81-2-4, 123, obv. 7.

The city of Abai is not mentioned anywhere else in the *Letters*, nor have I found any other reference to it. But being mentioned in a letter of Ašipā, an officer of Sargon,<sup>1</sup> who was stationed in Northwestern Kirḫu and who mentions several well-known Nairi localities together with it, like Šubria, Kulimmeri and Bulum, which were evidently neighboring localities to Abai, I feel warranted in assigning a position to this city east of Alzi, north of Šubria and south of the eastern Euphrates, in the Armenian Taurus range, not far from Daiaeni. In that case it may be identical with the land (or city district) of Abaeni, <sup>ma</sup>A-ba-e-ni, TP. I, IV: 79, a Nairi district, conquered by Tiglath-Pileser I. The ending -ni of this name is the old Armenian locative, generally suffixed to Urartean local names in the old Assyrian period, but omitted in the Sargon period, like Daiaeni and Daie, Tunibuni and Tunube. In the Greek period, this locative appears very frequently, e. g., Gorduene (Ass. Kurṭu), Adiene (Ass. Adia), Calacene (Ass. Hilabhi), etc.

Streck<sup>2</sup> compares Abaēni with the old Armenian Abunis (XXXVII: 12) northwest of Lake Van, and he also proposes Biaina (the Armenian name of Urarṭu) as an equivalent of Abaeni. Neither of these can be accepted. If Abaeni designated Biaina, we should expect it to reappear in the Assyrian literature in its frequent references to the land of Urarṭu. Nor can we look for Abaeni northwest of Lake Van, because Tiglath-Pileser I never went further north than the southern shore of that Lake.

<sup>1</sup>The letters addressed to Sargon, in the latter part of his reign, are readily recognized by the greeting to the "city of towers" (<sup>a1</sup>Bi-rat) or Dār-Šarrukīn. The building of this city was undertaken by Sargon after he had accomplished his great Urartean campaigns and this project became then a cherished fancy of his. Any officer, addressing the king, felt therefore in duty bound to invoke a blessing over this city. As all the letters of Ašipā (*ABL.*, Numbers 431, 506, 507, 508, 509, and 510) contain this greeting, they must therefore be assigned to the period 714-705 B. C. Ašipā himself was evidently appointed to one of these northwestern districts, taken from Urarṭu, where Sargon needed men, watchful of his interests, in pacifying these countries. It must therefore have been a pleasure for Ašipā to report that "these people of Abai are submissive" (*ABL.*, 509, rv. 7).

<sup>2</sup>*ZA.*, XIII, pp. 64 f.





The old Armenian Abunis would rather remind us of the city of Abbtūni, <sup>a1</sup>Ab-bu-ti-ni, Johns, *ADD.*, [361] K. 302, obv. 2, although their identity may be doubtful.

## ABANI

<sup>na</sup>r A.BA.NI: [781] K. 823, rv. 5.

From the references in this letter it appears that Abani was a river of Upper Elam between the cities of Lahiru and Bit-Imbia, probably a northwestern tributary of the river Uknu.

## ABDUDI

<sup>a1</sup>AB.DU.DI: [158] K. 530, obv. 7.

Johns<sup>1</sup> proposes to read this sign Ab as eš or aš(?). This is possible in view of the fact that <sup>ma</sup>t Ab-nu-nak, Cyr. cyl. 31; Ab-nun-na-ki, IV R. 36, No. 1, obv. 6. 29, and <sup>ma</sup>t Aš-nun-na-ak, Ag. 1: 36, are probably identical, and the character Ab not only has the value Eš but also Aš. But a city Ašdudi or Ešdudi is not known in southern Babylonia, and we may therefore as well read the name Abdudi, until new discoveries may throw light upon the reading of this name. It can in no way be identified with the city of Asdudi in Philistia.

From the context of this letter it is clear that the city of Abdudi was situated near the land of Ru'a and the city of Dêr. That city is probably identical with Dur-ili,<sup>2</sup> in the neighborhood of which the people of Ru'a lived. To this vicinity the city of Abdudi must therefore be assigned.

## ADARIḪITI

<sup>a1</sup>A.DA.RI.ḪI.TI: [771] 81-1-18, 49, obv. 8.

Nothing is known of this city except the reference to it in this letter. From the context it seems as if it were situated in a <sup>ma</sup>t Za-(a?)-me. This letter was written by Bêl-iḫbi and an officer from Gambul. Near that land was a city <sup>a1</sup>Za-a-me-e, belonging to Puḫudu<sup>3</sup> and located on the shore (šiddi) of the river Uknu.<sup>4</sup> The two names Za-a-me may be identical, al-

<sup>1</sup> *AJSL.*, XXII, p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> See Johnston, *Epistolary Lit.*, p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> *Sarg. Annals*, 267.

<sup>4</sup> *Sarg. Annals*, 274.

though it should be observed, that it denotes in our letter a land,<sup>1</sup> while in the annals of Sargon it appears as a city. But the change between the city and land determinatives is quite frequent in the inscriptions, and "land" often denotes only a city district.

## ADIA

<sup>a1</sup>A.DI.A: [683] R<sup>m</sup> 550, rv. 6

According to this letter, the city of Adia was situated near the city of Nineveh. Šamši-Adad IV<sup>2</sup> says that it had revolted against Shalmaneser II and according to the order in that text it lay between Nineveh and Šibaniba; the latter city lay near the river Ḫusur, and Adia should therefore be located toward the south-east of Nineveh and between that city and the river Ḫusur. This agrees with the reference to it in the *Contracts*.<sup>3</sup> Whether <sup>a1</sup>A-di . . . in Knudtzon's<sup>4</sup> texts is identical with this Adia, is uncertain but it is probable. In the *Contracts* occurs also a city Adian,<sup>5</sup> which, according to II R. 53, 1:29, should be located near Kalaḫ, and may be identical with Adia.

After the fall of Nineveh Adia became quite important, and in the Greek period it was the capital of a province, named after it—Adiabene<sup>6</sup>—including the district between the Tigris, Upper Zab and the Ḫusur valley, bordering to the south on Arbelitis, to the east on Calacene and to the north on Gorduene.<sup>7</sup> The ruins of Nineveh and Dār-Šarrukīn lay within its boundaries.

## ADINNU

<sup>a1</sup>A.DI.I[N.NU]: [500] K. 1303, obv. 6; [<sup>a1</sup>A-ti-nu [762] R<sup>m</sup> 2, 529, rv. 7

The identification of these two names is quite certain from the monolith inscription of Shalmaneser II,<sup>8</sup> compared with the Annals of Tiglath-Pileser III.<sup>9</sup> It was a city in the land of Hamath of

<sup>1</sup>It appears also as a land māt Za-me-[e 7] in ABL., [754] K. 5457, obv. 17.

<sup>2</sup><sup>a1</sup>A-di-a, Šamši-Adad 1:45.

<sup>3</sup><sup>a1</sup>A-di-a, Johns, *ADD.*, [741] K. 4291, obv. 29.

<sup>4</sup>Gebete, 145, L. K. 1.

<sup>5</sup><sup>a1</sup>A-di-an, Johns, *ADD.*, [350] 83-1-18, 335, obv. 7; [396] K. 3495, rv. 4; [443] Bu. 91-5-9, 95, obv. 6; [1116] K. 9553, obv. 4; II R. 53, 1:29.

<sup>6</sup>Pliny vi, 12; Amm. Marc. xxiii, 6.

<sup>7</sup>Dion. Cass. lxxviii; Ptol. vi, 1, 2, mention it as a small province between the Tigris, Lycus (Upper Zab) and the Gordiaean Mountains.

<sup>8</sup><sup>a1</sup>A-di-en-nu, Shalm. II, Mon. 2:88.

<sup>9</sup><sup>a1</sup>A-ti-in-ni, TP. III, An. 130.

Northern Syria. Sachau<sup>1</sup> identified it with the modern Tell-Loṭ-mīm,<sup>2</sup> northeast of Hamath. Tomkins<sup>3</sup> compared it with '-ty-ny of the inscriptions of Thutmoses III,<sup>4</sup> but the Egyptian spelling would rather suggest i-sa-na than A-di-en-nu or A-ti-in-ni.

## AI

<sup>mat</sup>AI: [107] K. 4304, obv. 8, [159] K. 1025, obv. 7, [494] Bu. 89-4-26, 163, obv. 10, 21, [556] K. 683, obv. 21; <sup>amel</sup><sup>mat</sup>AI, [128] K. 650, obv. 5, [174] K. 619, rv. 12; [713] Rm 59, obv. 5; <sup>mat</sup>AI, TP. III, Pl. No. 2, l. 14; Abp. Cyl. B. 3:102; II R. 52, 1:4, 37; 2:8, 17, 18, 24, 25, 28, 29, 31; II R. 53, 1:14.

As early as 1881 Delitzsch<sup>5</sup> read this name as <sup>mat</sup>AI, and combined with it the mountain <sup>sad</sup>A-ja<sup>6</sup> in Kurdistan. Later he has recognized in <sup>mat</sup>AI the land of Umliaš,<sup>7</sup> on the border of Elam, near the Persian Gulf.

Hommel,<sup>8</sup> on the contrary, identified <sup>mat</sup>AI with <sup>mat</sup>Madai on the strength of the passage in the Ashurbanipal Cylinder, because that king speaks of the "city-lord" of that land, a title that is otherwise used of Median princes. It should be noted, however, that Ashurbanipal has here the common ideogram for ḫazānu 'prefect, mayor,' used by the Assyrians for any city mayor.

Johns<sup>9</sup> has called my attention to an <sup>amel</sup>AI, occurring in ABL., No. 715 (K. 7851, rv. 5); on account of the mutilated text of this letter I did not feel warranted in classifying it in my "Geographical List" under this name, for I was not certain that it was gentilic. However, I prefer his reading to Streck's<sup>10</sup> <sup>amel</sup>AI-bi-la-ni, for which there is no other corroboration. If this passage refers to <sup>mat</sup>AI, then the question of reading the name of this land would be settled, but in view of the mutilated text it is safer not to depend upon it.

<sup>1</sup> ZA., XII, 47; see also Hartmann, ZDPV., XXII, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> <sup>الاطيم</sup> of al-Ja'qūbi.

<sup>3</sup> TSBA., IX, pp. 257 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Karnak list No. 263.

<sup>5</sup> Paradies, p. 247; so also Delattre, *Le peuple et l'empire de Mède*, p. 84, note.

<sup>6</sup> TP. I, 3:42, 59.

<sup>7</sup> Del., *Ass. Gram.*, p. 18; Delitzsch-Mürdter, *Geschichte*, p. 175; see Brünnow, *Classified List*, No. 11693; why Delitzsch renders it 'Wasserland' is not clear to me. The use of the signs A.A do not prove it, for it is not known that the people of <sup>mat</sup>AI were Sumerians; nor has it been shown that Umliaš means 'Water-land.'

<sup>8</sup> *Geschichte*, p. 727, note 2.

<sup>9</sup> AJSL., XXII, p. 229.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 223.



Streck<sup>1</sup> identifies <sup>ma</sup>tAi with Madai on the supposition that in *ABL.*, No. 174 (K. 619, rv. 12) an <sup>ame</sup>l<sup>ma</sup>tAi is mentioned, and that in the same letter the lands of Ellipi and Šungibutu are also mentioned, and that therefore <sup>ma</sup>tAi should be placed near Ellipi, because Madai lay near that land. There is, however, quite a difference between the "man" of a land and the land itself, and even if this officer from <sup>ma</sup>tAi should have happened to live or travel near Ellipi, which is not claimed in this letter, it does not in any wise follow that the land of Ai was located near Ellipi, and even if that be the case, it does not follow that it is identical with Madai.

There has been a good deal of uncertainty in the minds of many scholars whether we should read this name Ai (= A-a) and give its first sign <sup>ma</sup>t its usual determinative value, or should consider the first sign as a part of the name of this land, reading it Mad-ai, and regard the absence of the land determinative as a lapsus calami of the scribes. Taking into consideration that these "lapses" are quite numerous, and that most of these references can hardly apply to Media, it seems to me that we are here dealing not with Media proper, or Media Magna of the Classics, but rather with a land that was originally called Ai, and it was therefore treated as a separate land in my "Geographical List,"<sup>2</sup> although I was long before well aware of Streck's<sup>3</sup> postulate "that the only permissible reading is Mat-ai, which is incontrovertibly certain." As the land of Šungibutu is also mentioned in the same letter, there seems to be no cogent reason why the man from Ai should not be a neighbor of Šungibutu as well as of Ellipi, if that kind of argument suffices to settle Assyrian geographical questions.

Streck<sup>4</sup> also lays great stress upon the fact that Sennacherib, Cyl. A<sup>I</sup>, col. II, 30, reads <sup>ma</sup>tAi, while the same passage in Cyl. A<sup>II</sup> reads <sup>ma</sup>tMa-da-ai. But how often are such mistakes of the Assyrian scribes not to be taken into account? On the other hand it is not unlikely that at this time Madai had encroached

<sup>1</sup> *ZA.*, XV, p. 373.

<sup>2</sup> *AJSL.*, XXI, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> *ZA.*, XV, p. 373, "Die alleinige Berechtigung der Lesung Mat-ai steht jetzt unumstößlich fest."

<sup>4</sup> *ZA.*, XV, p. 373.

upon and extended into a part of the southern <sup>mat</sup>Ai, and that therefore the scribe could use both names truthfully, Ai denoting the old name of the land, Madai representing the new lords of the same land.

We know that <sup>mat</sup>Ai was the older name of the land of Umliaš<sup>1</sup> or at least a part of that land, and we are able to locate that land. It lay on the north shore of the river Uknu (Kercha), opposite Puḫudu, and Sargon mentions a river <sup>nar</sup>Um-li-aš,<sup>2</sup> which, if not identical with lower Uknu, was a tributary of the same, and evidently ran through the land of Umliaš, after which it was named.<sup>3</sup>

It can further be proved that Umliaš is not identical with Media, for Tiglath-Pileser III, according to his Annal-inscription,<sup>4</sup> marches from Media to Umliaš and his route is given as follows: Bit-Taz-zak-ki, <sup>mat</sup>Ma-da-ai, <sup>mat</sup>Bit-Zu-al-za-aš, <sup>mat</sup>Bit-Ma-at-ti, <sup>mat</sup>Um-li-ia-aš. Two other questions must be taken account of in this connection: (1) did the Assyrians pronounce the determinative before a proper name? (2) do all references to <sup>mat</sup>Ai apply to this land in or near Umliaš?

1. The first question should be answered in the affirmative at least as far as it concerns gentile and geographical names, just as in Hebrew נִשְׁבֵּה and נִשְׁבָּה appear before the name of the land. The *Nisbeh*-form is therefore in some instances used instead of the determinative. This would apply to the *Māt* and *al* determinatives, and enclitic *ki* was undoubtedly pronounced in Sumerian. In cases where the determinative appears in plural like <sup>mat-mat</sup>Na-i-ri,<sup>5</sup> this writing becomes unintelligible if the determinative be not pronounced. But if the determinative was pronounced when standing in the plural it follows that it must also be pronounced when it stands in the singular, and it would then correspond to our enclitic *land*, as in *Eng-land*, the *Nether-lands*, etc.

Applying this rule to our case, we should understand the

<sup>1</sup> Brünnow, *Classified List*, No. 11693.

<sup>2</sup> *An.* 286.

<sup>3</sup> Jensen's location of Umliaš (*ZA.*, XV, p. 221) in the far east, and in any event east of the Zagros Mountain cannot be proved and seems contrary to the facts.

<sup>4</sup> L. 158; other references to <sup>mat</sup>Um-li-ia-aš are: TP. IV, Pl. I, 17; Pl. II, 19; Thon. obv. 29, 35; cf. also *BM.*, No. 33225, 33232, 33234; Bu. 91-5-9, 410, 691, 1155, where it is identified with Ab-nun-na-ki, and IV R. 35, 5:7, where it is identified with Nun-ki-ga.

<sup>5</sup> TP. I, 4:83 and often.

Assyrians as reading and speaking of *Mat Ai*, well understanding that *Ai* was the name of the land in question. If a new people settles in such a territory, it might incorporate the determinative into the old name of the land, and thus the district of *mat Bit-Ma-at-ti* may be a remainder of the old *mat Ai*, all of which was treated by the new Aryan settlers as a proper name.

2. The references in the historical inscriptions can hardly apply to the land of *Ai* on the bank of *Uknu*.

*Tiglath-Pileser III*, who often mentions *Madai* and its districts, most of them situated between lake *Urmia* and *Harhar*, refers to *mat Ai*<sup>1</sup> in a list of what are mostly *Uratian* cities and districts. Now it is certain that *Uratu* did not extend down to the river *Uknu* on the border of *Elam*, and we must therefore look for this *mat Ai* somewhere further north, on the border of *Uratu*, in the neighborhood of *Muṣaṣir*.

*Ashurbanipal*,<sup>2</sup> returning from his conquest of the land of *Manna*, attacked *Birishadri* (*Bi-ri-is-ḥa-ad-ri*), prefect of *mat Ai* and also *Šarati* and *Piriḥia*, sons of *Gagi* and prefects of *mat Saḥi*, captured seventy-five of their stronghold cities and brought their prefects to *Nineveh*. The march of the Assyrian army goes consequently from *Manna*, on the western coast of Lake *Urmia*, westward to *Nineveh*. *mat Ai* must therefore be located somewhere between *Hubuški* and *Manna*. *Media* is not mentioned in the inscriptions of *Ashurbanipal* for the simple reason that it had, in the early part of the reign of *Esarhaddon*,<sup>3</sup> torn itself away from *Assyria* and was now so strong that the Assyrian king never attempted to subdue it. *Media* is at this time the land south of Lake *Urmia* toward *Harhar* and east thereof, and can therefore in no wise be identified with this *mat Ai* west of *Manna*.

These conclusions are fully substantiated by the references in the Letter-literature to the land of *Ai*. These letters know also of the land of *Madai* (*mat Ma-da-ai*, K. 617, obv. 8; *mat Ma-*

<sup>1</sup> Pl. No. 2, l. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Cyl. B, 3:102.

<sup>3</sup> See the references to *mat Madai* in Knudtzon's *Gebete an den Sonngott*. According to Herodotus (i, 95-103) *Dejokes* became king of the *Medes* in 709 B. C., *Dejokes* reigning 53 years, 709-656; *Fraortes* 22 years, 656-634; *Kyaxeres* 40 years, 634-594; *Astyages* 35 years, 594-559/558 B. C. According to Herod. i. 132 the Median empire was established 123 years before the overthrow of *Astyages*, i. e. in 678 B. C.

ta-ai, K. 609, obv. 6), which must be identified with *Media Magna*, but whenever they refer to <sup>mat</sup>Ai, we are in most cases forced to look for it in the neighborhood of Manna, and the probability is that this holds good in all cases. *ABL.*, No. 434 is of especial interest because it gives us the following order: Urartu, Manna, Ai, Hubuški. *ABL.*, No. 556 likewise mentions Ai together with Manna, and *ABL.*, No. 107 mentions it together with Dâr-Šarrukîn.

We have therefore in the inscriptions two different lands, called Ai, one <sup>mat</sup>Ai on the northern bank of Uknu, which in the historical period was called Umliaš, and one <sup>mat</sup>Ai east of Hubuški, in the land of Ĥaria, around <sup>šad</sup>Aja. In all probability the latter was a colony from the former. Moses of Chorene<sup>1</sup> tells us that the native name of Armenia is Haja-stân (= "the land of Haja"), and that this name originated from a certain Hai-kh, who became the leader of his oppressed people and with them emigrated from their former home near the Persian Gulf, settling in the Kurdaean mountains between Van and Urmia. The Armenian Haja or Hai represents so closely the Assyrian Aja and Ai, that an identification of the two is not only possible, but probable, and this Armenian tradition may be entitled to a place in the history of the two lands of Ai. Ai or Aja may have the same relation to Hajastân, as the god Ĥaldia of Muṣaṣir has to another name of Armenia, namely, Chaldia,<sup>2</sup> but Muṣaṣir was a neighbor district southeast of <sup>mat</sup>Ai.

What is said above in regard to pronouncing the land determinative before the name holds good also in this case, and it is probable that in the Greek period *Māt Ai* or *Mād Ai* was understood as a proper noun and identified with *Media*, and that this was probably the case even in the Sargon period among peoples who did not know the geography of the East. The Greeks knew not only of a *Media Magna*, but also of a *Media Atropatene*. This latter land is located by Strabo<sup>3</sup> on the east of Matiene, and later on he makes Matiene the western province of Atropatene. In spite of Winckler's<sup>4</sup> and Streck's<sup>5</sup> opposition to this combina-

<sup>1</sup> I, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Lehmann in *VBAG.*, 1896, p. 578.

<sup>3</sup> xi, p. 523-29.

<sup>4</sup> *Geschichte Bab.*, p. 202.

<sup>5</sup> *ZA.*, XV, pp. 372 f.

tion, it seems to me very probable that we should in this *Mati-ana* or *Matiene*<sup>1</sup> recognize the Assyrian *Mât Ai*. Herodotus' location of the mountains of *Matiene*<sup>2</sup> in the southeastern part of Kurdistan agrees precisely with our location of *mât Ai*.

## AKBANU

*mât AK.BA.NU*: [520] K. 680, obv. 7, 11.

This land, and the land of 'Alê, are said to be located "on the other shore of the river Tak-ka-?"<sup>3</sup> in the land of Elam. Neither of these localities is otherwise known. Sennacherib mentions, in his Taylor cylinder, an Elamite city, <sup>a1</sup>Ak-ka-ba-ri-na,<sup>4</sup> but whether that city was located in the land of Akbanu or identical with it, cannot at present be decided.

## AKIMADÊ

<sup>a1</sup>A.KI.MA.DI.E: [328] K. 638, rv. 21.

Nothing is known of this city outside the mention of it in this letter, but as this letter deals with affairs in Elam, which is referred to several times, it was undoubtedly an Elamite city.

## AKKADÎ

*mât AKKADÎ*<sup>k1</sup>: [9] K. 618, rv. 5; [46] K. 939a, obv. 13, 19, 22, [50] K. 1242, rv. 2, [149] K. 540, obv. 9 [223] K. 112, obv. 13, [266] K. 79, obv. 10, [269] K. 528, rv. 9, [358] R<sup>m</sup> 76, obv. 8, [437] K. 168, rv. 9, 19, [444] K. 645, obv. 4, [474] 81-2-4, 67, obv. 7, [518] 83-1-18, 27, rv. 8, [539] K. 17, obv. 17, rv. 24, [540] K. 87, rv. 3, [542] K. 114, rv. 23, [622] K. 1210, rv. 4, [716] K. 31, obv. 7, rv. 7, [760] R<sup>m</sup> 2, 7, obv. 6, [815] 48-7-20, 116, rv. 11, 15, [841] K. 4757, rv. 19; *mât Ak-ka-di-i*, [7] K. 601, obv. 16, rv. 8, [435] Bu. 89-4-26, 161, rv. 10.

For other references compare the following:

Hala-lama, <sup>k1</sup>Akkadî, SD. 21, 4, col. 2: 2.

Ur-Engur, <sup>k1</sup>Akkadî, I R. 1, No. 5: 9; 6: 6; 7: 6; 8: 6; 9: 3.

Dungi, <sup>k1</sup>Akkadî, I R. 2, No. II, 1: 4; 2: 4; 3: 6.

Gamil-Ninib, <sup>k1</sup>Akkadî, IV R. 35, No. 5: 11; I R. II, No. 5, 1: 9.

Ḥammurabi, <sup>k1</sup>Akkadî, *Letters* 62: 15, 23; 61: 18; 100: 5; *mât Ak-ka-di-im*, *Letters* 94: 21; 95: 12, 21, 32, 39; *ma-at Ak-ka-di-im*, *Code* 5: 9; 40: 52.

<sup>1</sup> *Mariavî*, Strabo ii, p. 73; xi, p. 509; Steph. B.; *Mariavî*, Herodotus v, 52; iii, 94; vii, 72.

<sup>2</sup> *τὰ Μαριὰνὰ ὄρη*, Herodotus i, 189, 202; v, 52; this should not be confounded with the Mantiana of Strabo, which should rather be compared with the Manda, Umman-Manda; see Ritter, *Erdkunde*, IX, p. 786.

<sup>3</sup> *mât Ak-ba-nu ù mât'-li-e a-hu ul-lu-u sa nâr Tak-ka-?*, K. 680, obv. 7-9.

<sup>4</sup> IR. 40, L. 58.

- Agum-Kakrime, Ak-ka-di-i, 1:32.  
 Karaindaš, Akkadī, IV R. 36, No. 3:7.  
 Burnaburiaš, <sup>k1</sup>Akkadī, I R. 4, No. 10:10.  
 Kurigalzu, <sup>k1</sup>Akkadī, I R. 4, No. 14, 2; 5; 3:8.  
 Nabukadrezzar I, <sup>mat</sup>Akkadī<sup>k1</sup>, V R. 55, 1:13, 44; 2:12.  
 Tukulti-Ninib<sup>1</sup> I, <sup>mat</sup>Akkadī<sup>k1</sup>, K. 2673, obv. 4; 82-7-4, 38, obv. 10;  
<sup>mat</sup>Akkadī, III R. 4, No. 2, obv. 4.  
 Tiglath-Pileser I, Akkadī<sup>k1</sup>, *Syn. Hist.* 2:33; <sup>mat</sup>Akkadī<sup>k1</sup>, Brok.  
 ob. 1:16; [<sup>mat</sup>Ak-]ka-di-i, Brok. ob. 4:38.  
 Adad-Nirari II, <sup>mat</sup>Akkadī<sup>k1</sup>, *Syn. Hist.* 3:19.  
 Shalmaneser II, <sup>mat</sup>Ak-ka-di-e, Balw. 4:2; *An.* 77.  
 Šamsi-Adad IV, <sup>mat</sup>Ak-ka-di-i, 2:11; Akkad<sup>k1</sup>, 4:22.  
 Adad-Nirari III, Akkadī<sup>k1</sup> I R. 35, 3:20.  
 Tiglath-Pileser IV, <sup>mat</sup>Akkadī<sup>k1</sup>, Pl. I, 1; Pl. II, 2; Thon. obv. 1.  
 Sargon II, Akkadī<sup>k1</sup>, *An.* 235; X:3, 123; <sup>mat</sup>Ak-ka-di-e, *An.* 233,  
 241, 314.  
 Sennacherib, Akkadī<sup>k1</sup>, I R. 40:36; 41:18.  
 Esarhaddon, Akkadī<sup>k1</sup>, B. S. 1:4, 8.  
 Ashurbanipal, <sup>mat</sup>Akkadī<sup>k1</sup>, 3:97; 6:8, 13; 7:92; 10:124; Akkadī<sup>k1</sup>,  
 4:41.  
 Šamaš-šum-ukin, Akkadī<sup>k1</sup>, Cyl. I:11, 17; Akkadī<sup>k1</sup>-ra, Bil. 1:5;  
 Ak-ka-di-i, Cyl. I:19; Bil. 2:5, 10.  
 Nabū-apil-iddin, <sup>mat</sup>Akkadī<sup>k1</sup>, V R. 60, No. 1:5; No. 2:30; No. 3:13.  
 Merodak-Baladan, <sup>mat</sup>Akkadī<sup>k1</sup>, I:17, 28, 46; III:14.  
 Nabukadrezzar II, <sup>ma-da</sup>Ak-ka-di-im, I R. 66:16.  
 Nabupalassar, <sup>ma-da</sup>Ak-ka-di-im, *ZA.*, II, p. 129, l. 12; Ak-ka-  
 di-i, *ZA.*, II, p. 172, l. 5.  
 Nabuna'id, <sup>k1</sup>Akkadī, Stela, col. II, ll. 20, 21.  
 Cyrus, Ak-ka-di-i, Cyl. 20; <sup>mat</sup>Akkadī<sup>k1</sup>, Cyl. 11, 18, 24, 33;  
<sup>mat</sup>Akkadī, Cyl. 10, 13 bis, 23.  
 Nabuna'id-Cyrus-Chronicle, <sup>mat</sup>Akkadī<sup>k1</sup>, B:5, 10; <sup>mat</sup>Akkadī,  
 B:14, 19, 22, 23.  
 Babylonian Chronicle, <sup>mat</sup>Akkadī<sup>k1</sup>, 84-2-11, 356, 1:3, 25, 26, 30;  
 2:40.  
 King, *Creation Tablets*, <sup>mat</sup>Akkadī<sup>k1</sup>, p. 212, l. 26; p. 211, l. 18;  
 Ak-ka-di-i, p. 147, l. 20, note l. 16.  
 Thompson, *RMA.*, Akkadī<sup>k1</sup> 29:3, 4; 35, rv. 2; 90, obv. 7; 266 B,  
 obv. 7, 8; <sup>mat</sup>Akkadī<sup>k1</sup>, 31, obv. 4; 34, obv. 7; 41, rv. 6; 42, obv. 7; 43,  
 rv. 5; 86, obv. 7; 88, obv. 7; 89, obv. 3; 95, rv. 6; 107, rv. 7; 119, rv. 1, 3;  
 124, obv. 7, 9; 125, obv. 3; 127, obv. 5, 7; 128, obv. 8, rv. 3; 129, obv. 3, 5;  
 130 A, obv. 3, 4; 131, obv. 9, rv. 2; 132, obv. 5; 133, obv. 4, 6; 134, rv. 3, 5;  
 135, obv. 3, 4; 135 A, obv. 3, 5; 136, obv. 2, 4; 136 A, obv. 2, 4; 136 B, obv.

<sup>1</sup>Ninib is to be read either Pir and then be compared with the Moabitic god Peor, or Ninus. On the latter form see *AC.*, I, p. 147.

6, 7; 136 D, obv. 3, 5; 136 E, obv. 9, rv. 3; 136 F, rv. 4; 136 G, obv. 3, 4; 136 H, obv. 2, 3; 136 I, obv. 3, 5; 136 L, obv. 3, 5; 136 M, obv. 2, 3; 136 N, obv. 2; 136 P, obv. 3; 136 R, rv. 2; 137, obv. 2; 138, obv. 3, 4; 138 A, rv. 3, 5; 142, obv. 3, 5; 143, obv. 3; 144, obv. 5, 6; 144 B, rv. 3, 5; 145, rv. 2; 146, obv. 3; 147, obv. 2, 4; 148 [obv. 2, 4]; 151, obv. 11; 151 A, obv. 2, 4; 152, obv. 2, 5; 154, obv. 4, 6; 155, obv. 5, 7, 8; 155 A, obv. 3, 6; 166, rv. 3; 167 A, obv. 3; 169, rv. 3; 183, rv. 5; 185, obv. 7, 9, rv. 4; 187, obv. 6 bis; 187 A, obv. 6; 193, obv. 8, rv. 1; 196, obv. 5, 7; 209, obv. 2; 232, obv. 10, 14; 234, obv. 5, 8; 235, obv. 9; 236 F, rv. 1; 241, rv. 2, 3; 242, obv. 6 bis; 243, rv. 5; 243 A, obv. 3, 4; 244 C, obv. 7; 265 A, obv. 3, 5; 268, obv. 11; 269, obv. 13, rv. 2; 270, obv. 3, rv. 11; 271, obv. 10, rv. 2, 3, 4, 11; 272, obv. 8, rv. 7 bis, 13. Šar Akkadī<sup>ki</sup>, 31, obv. 7; 34, obv. 5; 35, obv. 6, 9; 38, obv. 4, 7; 44, rv. 4; 91, obv. 4; 92, obv. 3; 94, obv. 4; 96 A, obv. 3; 96 B, obv. 2; 105, rv. 6; 110, obv. 3; 111, obv. 4; 112, obv. 2; 112 B, obv. 3; 113, obv. 5; 114, obv. 2; 114 A, obv. 2; 115 C, obv. 2; 117, obv. 4; 119, obv. 3; 186, obv. 5; 188, obv. 4; 195, rv. 6; 201, rv. 1; 207, obv. 5; 231, obv. 4; 246 C, rv. 3. Ak-ka-du-u, 152, rv. 4.

Johns, *ADD.*, Akkadī<sup>ki</sup>, 669, obv. 4.

The sign for Akkadī was pronounced Ti-il-la,<sup>1</sup> which was the original name of this land. Akkadī is the *Nisbeh*-form, indicating that this land was named after or belonged to the goddess Agade (or Ninā). Her city, Ninā<sup>ki</sup>(?) was a sister-city of Gir-Su<sup>ki</sup> (or Su-gir<sup>ki</sup> = Su(m)-gir<sup>ki</sup>, Su(n)-gir<sup>ki</sup>, Šumir<sup>ki</sup>), and it seems probable that the term Šumir u Akkadī originally designated these two cities.

Akkadī designated southern Babylonia, and the city of Erech belonged to it.<sup>2</sup> It should not be confused with the city of Akkad, which never occurs in the *Nisbeh*-form; nor should it be confused with <sup>ma</sup>t Akada-ai, which was an older name of the land of Urartu.

Šamaš-udaninani was governor of Akkadī and Eponym in the year 644 B. C.

#### AKKAD

<sup>a1</sup>AK.Kad: [337] D. T. 98, obv. 6, 8, [246] 83-1-18, 146, obv. 5, 7, 10, 13, rv. 4; <sup>a1</sup>Ak-kad-e, [629] K. 1263, obv. 10; <sup>a1</sup>Ak-ka-di, [46] K. 939a, obv. 8, 11, [594] K. 1118, rv. 2.

Nebukadrezzar I. <sup>a1</sup>Ak-ka-di, V R. 55, col. 2:50.

Johns, *ADD.*, <sup>a1</sup>Ak-kad, 930, col. II: 2, 6; col. III: 7.

<sup>1</sup> II R. 48, obv. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Nabū-ušabši calls Erech a city of <sup>ma</sup>t Akkadī<sup>ki</sup>, *ABL.*, 286, obv. 10 and 13.

It seems probable, but it is not certain, that this city is identical with the city of A-ga-de, capital of Sargon I.

## AGADE

Sargon I, Agade<sup>k1</sup>, *PSBA.*, 1885, p. 68: 3; III R. 4, No. 7, col. I: 26; *Cat. de Clerq.*, I, Pl. V, No. 461, l. 3; *OBI.*, No. 1, l. 6; No. 2, l. 5; No. 3, l. 3; C. J. Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 52, l. 3; *RA.*, IV, p. 8, col. I, l. 3.

Narâm-Sin, A-ga-de<sup>k1</sup> *RA.*, IV, p. 11, l. 3; *RA.*, III, Pl. VII, No. 22, l. 2, No. 23, l. 3, No. 26, l. 1; *Rec. de Trav.*, XIX, p. 187.

Hammurabi, A-ga-de<sup>k1</sup>, *Code*, 4:50.

Nabuna'id, A-ga-de<sup>k1</sup>, I R. 69, col. 2: 29, 48.

Cyrus, A-ga-de<sup>k1</sup>, *Cyl.*, l. 31.

Tallquist, *Maqlû*, A-ga-de<sup>k1</sup>, 2:177.

The city of Agade was a sister-city of Sippara. The deity of this city was originally Ištar of Agade, who was replaced by Anuntt.<sup>1</sup>

The temple of Agade was Bit Ul-maš (Nabuna'id's Sippara-inscription, II: 29, 35, 42, 44, 50; *Code of Hammurabi*, IV: 49).

As temple towers (ziggurâti) of Agade the following are known:

Bit-Su-gal, ziggurat of <sup>11a</sup>Tur-zi (II R. 50, No. 1:10).

Bit-Bâr-ši-é-di (II R. 50, No. I: 11).

## ALZI

matAL.ZI: [444] K. 645, obv. 10

The land of Alzi became Assyrian territory as early as the time of Tukulti-Ninib I,<sup>2</sup> who captured this land, mentioning it between the lands of Munnu and Madani. These lands are both situated north of the Tigris and the land of Šubria, and Madani must be located on the eastern shore of the upper Tigris, opposite Daria, and identical with the land of Madni of the inscriptions of Ašurnāširpal.<sup>3</sup>

In the time of Tiglath-Pileser I,<sup>4</sup> the Muški people had conquered this land and the land of Puruḫumzi, but this Assyrian king succeeded in recapturing it.<sup>5</sup> On this expedition Tiglath-Pileser I reached the land of Alzi from Šubari,<sup>6</sup> which he first had to conquer. But the land of Šubari, afterward called

<sup>1</sup> Compare I R. 69, col. 2: 48 with col. 3: 28.

<sup>2</sup> *An.*, obv. 15.

<sup>3</sup> *An.* 2:110, 113.

<sup>4</sup> *An.* 1: 64.

<sup>5</sup> TP. I, *An.* 2:90; Sm. 1874, obv. 24.

<sup>6</sup> *An.* 2: 84.



Šubria, extended along the northern bank of the Tigris<sup>1</sup> (eastward course), and Alzi must consequently be north of Šubari and also north of Madni (or Madani). Following the Tigris in its upper north-south course, we have first Šubria opposite Bit-Zamāni and Amedi, then Madni opposite Daria and mount Argania, and finally Alzi, east of the Tigris, opposite Enzite.

This is corroborated by the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II. That king had again to recapture the land of Alzi,<sup>2</sup> and he reaches it, coming from the city of Pitura, through the mountain pass of Alzi, and from this land he proceeds to the lands of Suḥni and Daiaeni. The city of Pitura was only a night's march<sup>3</sup> from Tušḥa, which was located on the southern shore of the Tigris, opposite the mouth of the river Kallama,<sup>4</sup> and the city of Pitura was most probably located on the western shore of this river, a little north of the city of Arbaki.<sup>5</sup> The land of Suḥni<sup>6</sup> or Suḥme<sup>7</sup> was situated on the northern shore of the Euphrates, opposite Enzite, Kireḫi and Alzi. All the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II agree, that this king did not cross the Tigris on his march from Pitura to Suḥme and Daiaeni, and that Alzi must consequently lie east of the Tigris.

In *ABL.*, 444, is a report concerning a meeting of five governors (bēl paḫati) in the city of Uesi, and among these governors is Siplia<sup>8</sup> of Alzi, and this land is here mentioned between the lands of Ḳaniun and Armiraliu, which are both Urartean domains, and the former of these was located not far to the south of Turuṣpa.

All references to this land agree, therefore, in locating it east of the Tigris. This is important, because it cannot then be identical with Enzi or Enzite, as Streck<sup>9</sup> proposes, claiming that *e* was changed to *a* and *n* to *l*, without giving any evidence

<sup>1</sup> Opposite <sup>1</sup>Tušḥa; see *Anp. An.* 2:8, 12; cf. also Knudtzon, *Gebete*, sub Šupria.

<sup>2</sup> Shalmaneser II, *An.* 42 bis; Layard 12:18.

<sup>3</sup> Ašurnāṣirpal III, *An.* 2:104.

<sup>4</sup> TP. IV, Pl. I, l. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Ašurnāṣirpal III, *An.* 2:112, 116; Mon., rev. 30, 34, 49.

<sup>6</sup> mātsu-uḫ-ni, Shalm. II, Layard 12:19; *An.* 45.

<sup>7</sup> mātsu-uḫ-me, Shalm. II, Mon. 2:45 bis, 46; from these inscriptions it is certain that the two names indicate the same land.

<sup>8</sup> Si-ip-li-a.

<sup>9</sup> ZA., XIII, p. 94.

that such changes occur in the old Armenian language. This theory, improbable at first sight, must now be permanently discarded on account of the researches of Belck,<sup>1</sup> who has found in the Armenian geographical literature that there were two provinces, Enzi and Alzi, and that it was first in the Greek period that Alzi was included in the province of Anzitene.<sup>2</sup>

## AMPIHÂBINI

<sup>māt</sup>Am.PI.ĦA.A.BI.NI: [802] 81-7-27, 39, obv. 6.

Nothing else is known of this land, nor does this letter help us assign a position to it. The scribe of this letter is Šamaš-bel-ušur, and if he should be identical with one of the governors of Kirruri or Arzuhina, who were Eponyms in 708 and 710 B. C. respectively, we may presume that he wrote concerning some land near their domains, probably in Media Atropatene.

Streck<sup>3</sup> compares it with <sup>a1</sup>Am-pi-ḥa-bi, K. 4785, l. 26.

The reading of the first sign is uncertain. Streck<sup>4</sup> suggests Am, which I have here adopted.

## AMURRÛ

<sup>māt</sup>A.MUR.RU.U: [337] D. T. 98, rv. 14, [629] K. 1263, obv. 21; <sup>māt</sup>Mar-tu<sup>ki</sup>, [38] K. 1049, rv. 4, [337] D. T. 98, rv. 13, [407] 83-1-18, 40, rv. 2, [629] K. 1263, obv. 16, 17; <sup>māt</sup>Mar-tu, [357] D. T. 98, rv. 13, [629] K. 1263, obv. 19, [679] 83-1-18, 61, obv. 9; <sup>māt</sup>Mar<sup>ki</sup> [137] K. 467, obv. 10, 14.

Mar-tu<sup>ki</sup> and Amurrû are two names, used in the Cuneiform inscriptions to denote the land of Syria-Palestine, and especially the land ruled by the city of Damascus.

This name belonged, however, originally to a district west of Sippara. In a contract tablet,<sup>5</sup> dated in the reign of Ammisadugga (1980-1959),<sup>6</sup> a region near Sippara is called Amurrû, and in another tablet<sup>7</sup> of this period we find this name identified with Mar-tu<sup>ki</sup>. The latter name means originally the "West

<sup>1</sup> *Beiträge*, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> *Avçura*, Ptolemy 13: 19, see below under Enzi.

<sup>3</sup> *AJSL.*, XXII, p. 217.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>5</sup> Meissner, *Beiträge z. altbab. Privatrecht*, No. 42.

<sup>6</sup> For the dates of the Hammurabi Dynasty, cf. my *Ancient Chronology*, I, pp. 73-82.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, No. 72.



tains, Sub-sal-la and Ti-da-num.<sup>1</sup> Kudur-Mabuk<sup>2</sup> calls himself ad-da of *mât* Mar-tu.

Ḫammurabi<sup>3</sup> calls himself king of Mar-[tu<sup>ki</sup>] and mentions Sinidinnam<sup>4</sup> as governor (GAL) of Mar-tu.<sup>5</sup> Ammiditana<sup>6</sup> is also king of this land.

In the Amarna period this land is referred to as *mât* Mar-tu,<sup>7</sup> *mât* Amurru,<sup>8</sup> and <sup>a1</sup>Amurra.<sup>9</sup> The readings A-mu-ri and A-mu-ur-ra settle the question whether we should read the middle sign ḫar or mur. Abd-<sup>11u</sup>-Aš-ra-tum was its king and he was succeeded by his son Aziru. His residence was the city of Amurri, but we infer that the land, of which the city of Amurri was the capital, consisted of several provinces, because these letters speak of the lands (*mâtâte*) of Amurri. Near this land were the cities of Nuḫašše, Qatna, Ṣumur, and Tunip.

The city of Damascus is called a city of *mât* Mar-tu<sup>ki</sup>,<sup>10</sup> but that city is otherwise known as the capital of *mât* Ša-imêri-šu<sup>11</sup> or "land of Damascus," and it seems therefore as if *mât* Mar-tu<sup>ki</sup> and *mât* Ša-imêri-šu are equivalent terms.

Tiglath-Pileser I refers to the land of *mât* A-mur-ri;<sup>12</sup> and Ašurnaširpal<sup>13</sup> claims to have received tribute from it. Shalmaneser II overthrew the cities of *mât* A-mur-ri.<sup>14</sup> Adad-Nirari III conquered the lands of Ḫat-ti and A-mur-ri,<sup>15</sup> Ṣur-ra (Tyre), Ši-du-nu (Sidon) and Ḫu-um-ri-i (Samaria). At this time Amurri included neither the Hittites, the coast-cities, nor Samaria.

Sargon, on the other hand, ruled the "wide land" of *mât* Mar-tu<sup>ki</sup>,<sup>16</sup> and refers to the land of the Hittites as the land of

<sup>1</sup> Another mountain *šad* La-ḫi, is also said to lie in *mât* A-mur-ri-e.

<sup>2</sup> I R. 2, No. 3, l. 4.

<sup>3</sup> HL., No. 66, col. 2, l. 3.

<sup>4</sup> HL., No. 48, ll. 2, 5.

<sup>5</sup> The references of Kudur-Mabuk and Ḫammurabi refer, however, undoubtedly to the land on the western bank of the lower Euphrates.

<sup>6</sup> HL., No. 100, l. 7.

<sup>7</sup> AL. 47:35; 46:24; 138:23.

<sup>8</sup> *mât* Amur-ri, AL. 42:14; *mât* A-mur-ri, AL. 38:8, 15; 50:rv.32; 57:15; 69:69; 75:63; 102:38; 112:rv.7, 10; 124:5, 21, 29, 35; 129:24; 137:39; 143:24, 30; 258:rv.3. *mât* A-mu-ri, AL. 59:48; 66:8; 90:8; *mâtâte* A-mu-ri, AL. 44:15, 22; 127:9; *mât* A-mur-ra, AL. 78:10; 114:17.

<sup>9</sup> <sup>a1</sup> A-mu-ur-ra, AL. 50, obv. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Sargon, An. 52; XIV:46.

<sup>11</sup> Adad-Nirari III, I R. 35, No. 1, l. 15.

<sup>12</sup> Broken ob. 4:39.

<sup>13</sup> *mât* A-mur-ri, An. 3:85; *mât* A-mur-ra-ai, An. 3:86; No. 76, 4:26.

<sup>14</sup> Mon. 2:6; Balw. 2:2; *mât* Mar-tu<sup>ki</sup>, Balw. 2:2.

<sup>15</sup> I R. 35, No. 1, l. 11.

<sup>16</sup> X:17; XIV:46; An. 52.

<sup>mat</sup>A-mur-ri-e.<sup>1</sup> He speaks of the language (li-ša-an) of <sup>mat</sup>Mar-tu<sup>ki</sup>,<sup>2</sup> which probably indicates the language of Syria.

Sennacherib conquered the land of Mar-tu<sup>ki</sup> and mentions as its cities <sup>a1</sup>Sam-si-mu-ru-na-ai, <sup>a1</sup>Ši-du-un-na-ai, <sup>a1</sup>A-ru-da-ai, <sup>a1</sup>Gu-ub-la-ai, <sup>a1</sup>As-du-da-ai, Bit Am-ma-na-ai, <sup>mat</sup>Ma-'-ba-ai, <sup>mat</sup>U-du-um-ma-ai. Here are not only the coast cities of Phoenicia and Philistia, but also the trans-Jordanic lands of Moab and Ammon as well as Edom, included in <sup>mat</sup>Mar-tu.

Nebukadrezzar I,<sup>3</sup> Ašurbanipal,<sup>4</sup> Nabuna'id,<sup>5</sup> and Cyrus<sup>6</sup> refer also in their inscriptions to this land.

In the letters<sup>7</sup> this land is also called <sup>mat</sup>Mar<sup>ki</sup>. From several references in the Astrological reports to the land of Mar-tu<sup>ki</sup>, where that land is called <sup>mat</sup>Mar<sup>ki</sup>,<sup>8</sup> or even <sup>mat</sup>Mar, it is certain that this Mar<sup>ki</sup><sup>10</sup> is identical with Amurru. A list of references to this land in these Astrological reports<sup>11</sup> follows:

<sup>mat</sup>A-mu-ri-e: [42] Sm. 1073, obv. 8; [43] K. 705, rv. 7; [98] K. 864, obv. 8.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>mat</sup>A-mur-ri-i: [68] K. 774, obv. 2; [119] K. 703, rv. 3.

<sup>mat</sup>A-mur[-ri-i]: [91] K. 86, obv. 2.

<sup>mat</sup>Mar-tu<sup>ki</sup>: [43] K. 705, obv. 7, rv. 5; [52 A] 81-2-4, 138, rv. 5; [80] K. 713, obv. 3; [80 A] 82-5-22, 72, obv. 3; [77] 83-1-18, 184, obv. 3; [78] K. 722, obv. 3; [79] 83-1-18, 173, obv. 4; [98] K. 864, obv. 7; [99] K. 771, rv. 2; [101] 81-2-4, 83, obv. 4, rv. 2, 4; [102] 83-1-18, 246, obv. 4; [103] Sm. 375, obv. 5; [107] Bu. 89-4-26, 166, obv. 10, rv. 5, 6; [157 B] K. 1369, obv. 6; [167] 80-7-19, 371, obv. 7, rv. 6, 9, 11, 12; [192] Bu. 89-4-26, 3, obv. 5; [193] 83-1-18, 179, obv. 2; [206] K. 731, obv. 10; [211] K. 758, rv. 1; [211 A] K. 12176, obv. 4; [222] 83-1-18, 181, rv. 2; [258] Sm. 1043, rv. 2; [268] K. 2085, obv. 5, 9, 12; [273] Sm. 231, obv. 3; [274 F] K. 1384, rv. 4, 5, 6.

<sup>mat</sup>Mar-tu: [64 A] K. 1340, obv. 2; [67] 83-1-18, 194, obv. 3; [69 A] 80-7-19, 176, obv. 6; [79 A] K. 1407, obv. 3; [76] 83-1-18, 183, obv. 3; [100] K. 1405, rv. 4; [156] Bu. 91-5-9, 8, rv. 1, 2; [166] K. 694, rv. 3; [270] K. 955, rv. 11.

<sup>1</sup> An. 41.

<sup>2</sup> X. 161.

<sup>3</sup> I R. 33:55.

<sup>4</sup> <sup>mat</sup>A-mur-ri-i, I: 10.

<sup>5</sup> <sup>mat</sup>Mar-tu<sup>ki</sup>, An., col. 8, l. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Nab.-Cyrus Chron. A: 15.

<sup>7</sup> Cyl. C. 29.

<sup>8</sup> ABL., No. 137, obv. 10, 14.

<sup>9</sup> Thomps., *RM.A.*, [26] K. 770, rv. 5; [88] K. 712, rv. 5; Šar Mar<sup>ki</sup>, [56] K. 1341, obv. 5.

<sup>10</sup> [17] K. 803, rv. 3; [41] K. 791, rv. 7; [104] 81-2-4, 145, obv. 5; [271] K. 750, obv. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Thompson, *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers*.

<sup>12</sup> A gloss to the same line reads <sup>ma-ta</sup>A-mur-ri-e.

Mar-tuki: [44] 80-7-19, 63, rv. 8; [63] K. 776, obv. 2; [64] 83-1-18, 298, obv. 2; [64 B] K. 1927, obv. 2; [65] 82-5-22, 50, obv. 5; [66] K. 809, obv. 2; [67] 83-1-18, 194, obv. 2; [69] 82-5-22, 49, obv. 2; [70] 81-2-4, 79, obv. 2; [69 A] 80-7-19, 176, obv. 2; [74] Rm. 203, obv. 5, rv. 1; [75] K. 695, obv. 2; [58] K. 693, obv. 4; [81 D] 80-7-19, 197, obv. 4; [81 K] K. 901, obv. 2; [87 A] K. 1007, obv. 4; [136 K] K. 1339, rv. 2; [137] K. 799, rv. 2, 4; [151] 81-2-4, 102, rv. 1; [234] 82-5-22, 46, rv. 2, 6; [262 B] K. 12555, obv. 2; [272 B] K. 702, obv. 4.

Mar-tu: [94] K. 120 A, rv. 7; [151] 81-2-4, 102, rv. 1; [269] K. 815, rv. 4, 9.

As the sign for mur has also the value ħar, the name A-mur-ri was formerly read A-ħar-ri<sup>1</sup> and supposed to denote the "hinterland" i. e., the "West-land."

In the letters, especially *ABL*, No. 337 and No. 629, <sup>mat</sup>Mar-tu and <sup>mat</sup>A-mur-ru-u, appear together in a way, as if the latter were a part of the former,<sup>2</sup> and it has been suggested that we might read <sup>mat</sup>Martu as <sup>mat</sup>A-ħar-ru, or the "West-land" ("hinterland").

The objections to a reading <sup>mat</sup>A-ħar-ru are based chiefly on the following considerations:

1. In the O.T. the word אַחֲרֵי never denotes a land, a "hinterland" or a "West-land," i. e., it is not used as a geographical name in any sense; nor have I found this word so used in any other Semitic dialect. It is true that the *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, by Brown, Driver, and Briggs, p. 30, once claims the meaning "west"-land for 'aħôr, viz., Is. 9:11, but it is probably wrong in the conception of this verse, for Isaiah says about Israel and Samaria: "*Aram from before and the Philistines from behind, and they shall devour Israel with open mouth.*" Although ķedhem sometimes means 'east' it denotes also 'front, in front of,' and it is certain that Philistia was not to the west, but to the south of Israel and Samaria, and Damascus (and it is to this city "Aram" refers in this verse) was not to the east but to the north of Samaria. It is therefore evident that 'Aħôr, even in this passage, cannot mean "west" or "west-land."

This dictionary also gives the meaning "western" to 'Aħarôn (Deut. 11:24; 34:2; Job 2:20; Zech. 14:8), and compares it

<sup>1</sup> See Delitzsch, *HWB.*, sub A-ħar-ri.

See on this subject a note by R. F. Harper in *AJSL.*, April, 1899, p. 142.

with a supposed Assyrian <sup>mat</sup>Aḥarru, but it should be noted that all these passages deal with a "western (?) sea," not with any "west-land," and that although the Mediterranean may be called a "western sea," it does not prove that Palestine was called a "west-land." It should also be noted that the Hebrew form 'Aḥarōn cannot represent a supposed Ass. Aḥarru. It seems therefore, that if the Assyrians, who so often used the ideogram Mar-tu, read this as Aḥarru, there should be some trace of that name in the other Semitic dialects, *and especially so in Hebrew.*

2. In the Amarna period it is certain that the sign for mur (or ḥar) was read mu-ur or mu-ri and that Mar-tu and A-mur-ru-u or A-mu-ur-ra are then synonymous terms for the kingdom of Abd-Aširta and Aziru. There is nothing to prove that a different reading was adopted at a subsequent period. It should also be noted that the sons of Abd-Aširta and Aziru were in alliance with the Khabiri (or Hebrews).

3. Now the O. T., while it knows of no land called Akhōr, mentions frequently an "Amorite" land, the name being a *Nisbeh*, 'amori, like the Assyrian Amurrū, and this land or people was conquered by the Hebrews. This name is used:<sup>1</sup> (a) of a pre-Israelitish people living east of the Jordan; Sennacherib also included Moab and Ammon in <sup>mat</sup>Mar-tu; (b) of a people west of Jordan; (c) of a southern people; Sennacherib included Edom in <sup>mat</sup>Martu; (d) of the ancient population of Canaan in general; Sennacherib included the coast cities of Phoenicia and Philistia in <sup>mat</sup>Mar-tu. It should be noticed that Sennacherib uses the name <sup>mat</sup>Mar-tu, where O. T. uses the term "the<sup>2</sup> Amorite."

4. The strongest evidence for reading this name Amurru instead of Aḥarru is perhaps furnished by the Egyptian inscriptions. These inscriptions know of no land Aḥarru or Aḥōr in Palestine or Syria, but they refer frequently to a land Amor. Thus Seti I speaks of the city of Kadesh in the land of Amor<sup>3</sup> (Y-m-r). Professor Breasted locates this Kadesh<sup>4</sup> in the moun-

<sup>1</sup> For biblical references, see *Encyclopedia Biblica*, article "Amorites."

<sup>2</sup> The article is used in the O. T. with this name everywhere, except Num. 21:29, Ezek. 16:45.

<sup>3</sup> Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, III, 141.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, note 1.

tains of Galilee, while W. Max Müller<sup>1</sup> contends that it is the Kadesh on the Orontes. Ramses II speaks of the "Shore in the land of Amor" ('-m-w-r'),<sup>2</sup> which here refers to the Phoenician coast, just as Sennacherib calls Arvad, Gubla, Sidon, and Tyre cities of <sup>mat</sup>Mar-tu. While Ramses II is at Kadesh on the Orontes, he receives recruits from the land of Amor.<sup>3</sup> In a list of cities conquered in northern Palestine, Ramses II mentions "Deper (D'-pw-r') in the land of Amor."<sup>4</sup> Breasted locates this city in the neighborhood of Tabor, but W. Max Müller places it further north near Kadesh.<sup>5</sup> In the reliefs of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, Amor appears between the Hittites and the Asiatics, the order being: Kheta, Amor,<sup>6</sup> Thekel, Sherden, Shasu, Teresh and Peleset (Philistia); and this locates the Amorites south of the Hittites and as neighbors of the Phoenicians (Thekel). Amor, in the Egyptian inscriptions, is then quite an extensive land, including Kadesh, the Phoenician coast, and bordering on the land of the Hittites.

Taking all this into consideration, it seems most probable that Mar-tu should be read Amurrû, and further that we should read A-mur-ru and not A-ḥar-ru.<sup>7</sup>

## ANDIA

<sup>mat</sup>AN.DI.A: [466] Sm. 51, obv. 2, rv. 3, [515] K. 621, obv. 5; <sup>a1</sup>An-di-[a], [215] K. 1037, rv. 2.

The city of Andia seems, according to *ABL*. No. 215, to have been situated near Urarṭu, Mannai, and Zikirta. The land of Mannai lay on the west side of Lake Urmia, and Zikirta on its eastern shore. Urarṭu extended from Lake Van southeastward to Mannai, and sometimes even included that land as one of its provinces. The scribe of this letter, a certain <sup>m</sup>Bag-te-šup,

<sup>1</sup> *Asien und Europa*, p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, III, 310.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 340.

<sup>4</sup> Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, III, 356.

<sup>5</sup> *Asien und Europa*, p. 221.

<sup>6</sup> Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, IV, 129. For other references to the land of Amor, see *ibid.*, IV, 39, 64, 117, 127.

<sup>7</sup> See Muss-Arnolt, *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*, sub Aḥarru and Amurri. For further discussion of this name, see Delattre, *PSBA.*, 1891, 233, 234; *ZA.*, VII, 22; *RP.*, V, 95, rm. 4; 96, rm. 2.



whose name is evidently a compound of Bag<sup>1</sup> and Te-šup, the god not only of Mitanni and ancient Kirḫu and Gorduene (cf. Šadi-Tešup, Kali-Tešup, Kili-Tešup), but also of the Gimirrai (cf. the name Te-uš-pa), and this scribe may therefore very well have been from the land of Gimirra. This land lay to the north of Lake Urmia and east of Urarṭu, and it seems therefore probable that Andia was located on the northwestern shore of Lake Urmia, between that lake and the land of Gimirra.

This is borne out by other references to this land. In *ABL.*, 466, the crown prince of <sup>mat</sup>An-di-ai writes about a horse transport, and incidentally he mentions also a nobleman <sup>m</sup>A-pil-šar-ušur from the land of Mannai, and from this we may infer that the two lands lay near each other.

In *ABL.*, 515, a messenger of <sup>mat</sup>An-di-ai is mentioned in connection with and between those of the lands of Urarṭu and Zikirai. The latter name is undoubtedly a misspelling for Zikirtai, and the same name is again misspelled in obv. l. 15 as <sup>mat</sup>Zi-ki-ti-a. The scribe of this letter, <sup>m</sup>Bēl-nādin, informs the Assyrian king that the messengers from Andia and Zikirai (Zikirtai) have gone to the city of Uesi. That city is well known; it belonged to Urarṭu, and lay southeast from Lake Van, near the borders of Mannai. My location of <sup>mat</sup>Andia on the northwestern shore of Lake Urmia fits in well with the situation given in this letter.

In the historical inscriptions we find this land mentioned in the annals of Shalmaneser II.<sup>2</sup> His Turtan Daian-Ašur received tribute, in the 31st year of Shalmaneser II, from Gilzani, Burisa, Ḫarrana, Šašgana, and Andia. The order here suggests a locality northeast of Gilzani (Kirzan) and northwest of Lake Urmia.

Adad-Nirari III claims to have conquered Parsua, Allabria, Abdadana, Nairi, and <sup>mat</sup>An-di-u.<sup>3</sup> Nairi is here the land round Ḫubuškia. Parsua is to the southwest and south of Lake Urmia, and the other lands are all located west of

<sup>1</sup> Bag or Baga is an old Median word for divinity. The name would thus signify "Tešup is god," and would be a name formed like Hebrew Joel, "Yah or Yahweh is god."

<sup>2</sup> <sup>mat</sup>An-di-ai, ob. 182.

<sup>3</sup> I R. 35, 1, 19.

that lake, even west of Mannai. The order goes from south to north, and Andia would therefore well fit a province to the northwest of that lake. Billerbeck<sup>1</sup> locates it north of Lake Urmia. Streck,<sup>2</sup> however, misled by a note in the inscription of Adad-Nirari III, that "its location was far away" (*ša ašar-šu rûku*), locates it east of Lake Urmia. This seems impossible, especially as he locates Parsua also east of Urmia, and between that lake and Andia. The Assyrian kingdom in the time of Adad-Nirari extended not further to the east and north than Ħubuškia, and Andia would then certainly be regarded as a "far away land," when it lay on the northwest of Lake Urmia.

My location of Andia is finally corroborated by the inscriptions of Sargon. In his 7th year, Sargon attacked Telusina, king of *mat*An-di-ai,<sup>3</sup> and captured eight towered cities (*birâte*) and 4,200 men in the province of *mat*Tu-a-ia-a-di,<sup>4</sup> in the land of Andia. The order in the inscriptions of Sargon is: Mannai, Andia, Zikirtu, or Urarṭu, Mušasir, Andia, and Zikirtu.

It would appear from all the inscriptions, that Andia lay on the northwest, or perhaps the northern, shore of Lake Urmia.

In the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I we find a land *mat*An-di-a-be,<sup>5</sup> given there as a province of Nairi. If this be identical with Andia, then it must be west of Lake Urmia, for Tiglath-Pileser I never went as far east as the eastern shore of that lake. He captured Ħaria, and that land is undoubtedly identical with the Ħarrana of the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II, and as we found above that Andia did not lie far from Ħarrana, it would not be strange if Tiglath-Pileser I, after his conquest of Ħaria, also reached Andia, and that its name was pronounced at this time as An-di-a-be.

With Andia should perhaps also be associated another land, *mat*Mi-si-an-di-a,<sup>6</sup> a province of Mannai, and captured by

<sup>1</sup> *Sandshak-Suleimania*, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> *Z.A.*, XV, p. 316; *ibid.*, p. 315. Streck claims that Šamsiramman should have referred to *mat*An-di-u. It is Adad-Nirari III, and not Šamši-Adad IV, whose inscription is given in *I R.* 35, No. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Sarg. An.* 81; X:45; Sm. 51; *mat*An-di-a, *Sarg. Cyl.* 29; XIV:8; pp. IV:20; Stela, 38; *Bull.-Ins.* 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Sarg. X*:44.

<sup>5</sup> *An.* 4:74.

<sup>6</sup> *Sarg. X*:37.

Sargon. Hommel<sup>1</sup> identifies this land with Mesu, but that is impossible, for the land of Mesu lay between Zamua and Mazamua, south of the lower Zab, in the region of the river Radanu. As Misiandia was a province of Mannai, I would suggest that it lay between<sup>2</sup> Mannai and Andia.

## ANISU

<sup>a1</sup>A.NI.SU: [173] K. 686, obv. 6, 8

Nothing else is known of this city, so far as I am aware. The scribe is a certain <sup>m</sup>Ṭab-Ašur, but he is not otherwise known. The letter was written to Sargon, for it contains a greeting to Dūr-Šarrukīn (<sup>a1</sup>Bir-a-te), and also a reference to the land of <sup>ma</sup>tKir-ḫu and the city of <sup>a1</sup>Ia-ri. That city was perhaps located in Kašīari, and in that mountain, or north of it, in the land of Kirḫu, I would provisionally locate the city of Anisu.

## APPINA

<sup>a1</sup>AP.PI.NA: [343] 83-1-18, 18, obv. 4, 12

The city of Appina is also unknown in the Cuneiform literature, outside of this letter. It had a fortress (ḫal-ṣu), the commandant (<sup>ame</sup>lRabū) of which, a certain <sup>m</sup>Za-ba-ai, wrote this letter. A man by that name appears in *ABL.*, No. 275, obv. 13, and he was from southern Babylonia, either Puḫudu or Bit-Amuḫāni, but it is impossible to say if the two men are identical, and nothing can therefore be said about the location of Appina.

<sup>1</sup>*Geschichte*, p. 713, note.

<sup>2</sup>*Mi-si* = μέσος, 'middle,' 'between.'

GEOGRAPHICAL LIST TO R. F. HARPER'S *ASSYRIAN  
AND BABYLONIAN LETTERS*, VOLS. I-VIII.<sup>1</sup>

- a<sup>1</sup>*A.BA.AI: [509] 81-2-4, 123, obv. 7.  
*na<sup>r</sup>*A.BA.NI: [781] K. 823, rv. 5.  
*a<sup>1</sup>*AB.DU.DI: [158] K. 530, obv. 7.  
*a<sup>1</sup>*A.DA.RI.ĦI.TI: [771] 81-1-18, 49, obv. 8.  
*a<sup>1</sup>*A.DI.A: [683] Rm 550, rv. 6.  
*a<sup>1</sup>*A.DI.I[N.NU]: [500] K. 1303, obv. 6; [*a<sup>1</sup>*]A-ti-nu: [762] Rm 2, 529, rv. 7.  
*ma<sup>t</sup>*AI: [107] K. 4304, obv. 8, [159] K. 1025, obv. 7, [434] Bu. 89-4-26, 163, obv. 10, 21, [556] K. 683, obv. 21; *amēl ma<sup>t</sup>*Ai, [128] K. 650, obv. 5 [174] K. 619, rv. 12, [713] Rm 59, obv. 5.  
*ma<sup>t</sup>*AK.BA.NU: [520] K. 680, obv. 7, 11.  
*a<sup>1</sup>*A.KI.MA.DI.E: [328] K. 638, rv. 21.  
*ma<sup>t</sup>*AKKAD<sup>k<sup>1</sup></sup>: [9] K. 618, rv. 5; [46] K. 939a, obv. 13, 19, 22, [50] K. 1242, rv. 2, [149] K. 540, obv. 9, [223] K. 112, obv. 13, [266] K. 79, obv. 10, [269] K. 528, rv. 9, [358] Rm 76, obv. 8, [437] K. 168, rv. 9, 19, [444] K. 645, obv. 4, [474] 81-2-4, 67, obv. 7, [518] 83-1-18, 27, rv. 8, [539] K. 17, obv. 17, rv. 24, [540] K. 87, rv. 3, [542] K. 114, rv. 23, [622] K. 1210, rv. 4, [716] K. 31, obv. 7, rv. 7, [760] Rm 2, 7, obv. 6, [815] 48-7-20, 116, rv. 11, 15, [841] K. 4757, rv. 19; *ma<sup>t</sup>*Ak-ka-di-i, [7] K. 601, obv. 16, rv. 8, [435] Bu. 89-4-26, 161, rv. 10.  
*a<sup>1</sup>*AK.KAD: [337] D. T. 98, obv. 6, 8, [746] 83-1-18, 146, obv. 5, 7, 10, 13, rv. 4; *a<sup>1</sup>*Ak-kad-e, [629] K. 1263, obv. 10; *a<sup>1</sup>*Ak-ka-di, [46] K. 939a, obv. 8, 11, [594] K. 1118, rv. 2.  
*ma<sup>t</sup>*AL.ZI: [444] K. 645, obv. 10.  
*ma<sup>t</sup>*AM.PI.ĦA.A.BI.NI: [802] 81-7-27, 39, obv. 6.  
*ma<sup>t</sup>*A.MUR.RU.U: [337] D. T. 98, rv. 14, [629] K. 1263, obv. 21; *ma<sup>t</sup>*Mar-tu<sup>k<sup>1</sup></sup>, [38] K. 1049, rv. 4, [337] D. T. 98, rv. 13, [407] 83-1-18, 40, rv. 2, [629] K. 1263, obv. 16, 17; *ma<sup>t</sup>*Mar-tu, [337] D. T. 98, rv. 13, [629] K. 1263, obv. 19, [679] 83-1-18, 61, obv. 9.  
*amēl*MAR<sup>k<sup>1</sup></sup>: [137] K. 467, obv. 12; *ma<sup>t</sup>*Mar<sup>k<sup>1</sup></sup>, [137] K. 467, obv. 10, 14.  
*ma<sup>t</sup>*AN.DI.A: [466] Sm. 51, obv. 2, rv. 3, [515] K. 621, obv. 5; *a<sup>1</sup>*An-di-[a], [215] K. 1037, rv. 2.  
*a<sup>1</sup>*A.NI.SU: [173] K. 686, obv. 6, 8.  
*a<sup>1</sup>*AP.PI.NA: [343] 83-1-18, 18, obv. 4, 12.  
*amēl*A.RA.BU: [262] K. 607, obv. 10; *ma<sup>t</sup>*A-ri-bi, [629] K. 1263, rv. 1; *ma<sup>t</sup>*Ar-ba-ai, [631] K. 1265, obv. 3, 7; *amēl*Ar-a-bi, [260] K. 562, obv. 10.

<sup>1</sup>Corrected and rearranged from *AJSL*, Vol. XXI, pp. 83-99.

- <sup>a1</sup>A.RA.AK.DI: [408] R<sup>m</sup> 2, 1, obv. 20, rv. 9.  
<sup>šad</sup>A.RA.LIM: [202] K. 83, obv. 13.  
<sup>mat</sup>A.RA.MU: [539] K. 17, obv. 18; <sup>mat</sup>A(?)-[ra]-me, [771], 81-1-18, 49, obv. 8.  
<sup>amel</sup>A.RA.MU: [747] K. 923, obv. 4.  
<sup>a1</sup>ARBA.ILI: [43] K. 122, obv. 21, [64] K. 550, obv. 14, [179] K. 664, obv. 7, [212] K. 1199, obv. 10, [333] K. 651, obv. 6, [339] 83-1-18, 19, rv. 6, [358] R<sup>m</sup> 76, obv. 5, [378] 83-1-18, 11, obv. 5, [413] Bu. 91-5-9, 12, rv. 9, [423] 83-1-18, 12, obv. 5, [427] 83-1-18, 35, obv. 7, [432] D. T. 220, obv. 31, [453] K. 948, obv. 6, [494] 80-7-19, 23, obv. 7, [495] Bu. 91-4-9, 66, obv. 7, [531] 81-2-4, 50, rv. 13, [533] 83-1-18, 44, obv. 4, [662] 80-7-19, 139, obv. 8, [671] K. 78, obv. 4, 8, [696] K. 13066, obv. 5, [697] 81-2-4, 73, obv. 7, [784] K. 1031, obv. 27, [829] K. 297, obv. 5, 9, [843] K. 846, rv. 13, [876] Bu. 91-5-9, 144, obv. 8, 10; <sup>a1</sup>Arba-ila-ai, [386] 83-1-18, 9, obv. 8, [408] R<sup>m</sup> 2, 1, obv. 5, 12; Arba-ili, [514] K. 477, rv. 6, [668] 83-1-28, 255, obv. 7.  
<sup>a1</sup>AR.GA.DA: [581] K. 1072, obv. 5.  
<sup>a1</sup>AR.GI.TE: [414] R<sup>m</sup> 77, obv. 14.  
<sup>mat</sup>AR-MIR.A.LI.A: [444] K. 645, obv. 11.  
<sup>a1</sup>AR.NU[. ]: [324] K. 14093, obv. 4.  
<sup>a1</sup>AR.PAD.DU: [601] K. 1126, obv. 10; <sup>a1</sup>Ar-pad-da, [372] 80-7-19, 26, rv. 13, [395] Bu. 91-5-9, 136, obv. 9; <sup>mat</sup>Ar-pad-dá, [221] K. 175, obv. 13.  
<sup>a1</sup>AR.PAD.DA.NU: [43] K. 122, obv. 16.  
<sup>mat</sup>AR.PA.AI: [547] K. 587, rv. 10.  
<sup>a1</sup>AR.RA.NU: [502] K. 661, obv. 11, 14.  
<sup>a1</sup>ARRAP.ĦA: [71] K. 1113 + K. 1229, rv. 2, [89] K. 515, obv. 12, rv. 2, 12, [95] K. 1151, obv. 9, rv. 4, [160] K. 1243, obv. 5, [168] K. 63b, obv. 7, 9, [306] K. 622, rv. 3, 7, [311] K. 630, obv. 7, 8, [375] 83-1-18, 41, obv. 9, [394] 81-2-4, 57, obv. 13, [408] R<sup>m</sup> 2, 1, obv. 11, rv. 26, [415] Bu. 91-5-9, 157, obv. 9, [486] K. 8375, obv. 7, rv. 4, 9, [505] 81-2-4, 95, obv. 9, [543] K. 176, rv. 6, [682] K. 608, rv. 3; <sup>a1</sup>Arrap-ĥa-ai, [599] K. 1124, rv. 3; <sup>amel</sup>Arrap-ĥa-ai, [140] K. 518, obv. 16; <sup>a1</sup>Arrap-ra-ap-ĥa, [151] K. 652, obv. 11; <sup>mat</sup>Ar-rap-ĥa, [754] K. 5457, obv. 11.  
<sup>a1</sup>AR.RI: [376] 83-1-18, 42, obv. 11.  
<sup>šad</sup>AR.ZA.BI.IA.A: [198] K. 5464, rv. 12, 16.  
<sup>amel</sup><sup>a1</sup>AR.ZI.ZA.AI: [317] K. 5291, obv. 13, rv. 3.  
<sup>a1</sup>AR.ZU.ĦI.NA: [43] K. 122, obv. 20, [408] R<sup>m</sup> 2, 1, rv. 5, [638] K.  
<sup>mat</sup>AŠŠUR<sup>ki</sup>: [19] K. 494, rv. 9, [58] K. 1033, rv. 7; [92] K. 656, obv. 6, [146] K. 910, obv. 6, 7, [196] K. 125, obv. 4, [197] K. 181, obv. 4, [199] K. 5464, obv. 12, 17, [199] K. 7434, obv. 4, [280] K. 10, rv. 4, [281] K. 13, obv. 28, [327] K. 517, obv. 12, 17, rv. 19, [328] K. 638, obv. 13, [358] R<sup>m</sup> 76, obv. 8, [397] R<sup>m</sup> 2, 458, obv. 6, [409] R<sup>m</sup> 2, 2, rv. 8, [434]

- Bu. 89-4-26, 163, obv. 7, [436] K. 145, obv. 11, rv. 5, [437] K. 168, obv. 7, [476] 83-1-18, 5, obv. 18, [515] K. 621, obv. 10, rv. 9, [521] 83-1-18, 4, obv. 27, [568] K. 956, obv. 4, [576] K. 1009, obv. 16, 19, rv. 17, 19, [614] K. 1152, rv. 3, 7, [718] Bu. 91-5-9, 87, rv. 11, 12, [730] Rm 2, 14, obv. 3, [731] 81-7-27, 41, obv. 4, [789] K. 1964, obv. 6, [792] 83-1-18, 52, obv. 10, 14, [815] 48-7-20, 116, obv. 5, 13, rv. 13, 15; *matilu* *Aššur<sup>ki</sup>*, [7] K. 601, obv. 15, rv. 7; *amel matilu Aššur<sup>ki</sup> pl.*, [262] K. 607, obv. 7; *mat Anšár<sup>ki</sup>*, [9] K. 618, rv. 4, [588] K. 1105, obv. 4, [752] Rm 48, rv. 21; *Aš<sup>ki</sup>*, [336] K. 644, rv. 8; *matilu Aššur*, [2] K. 183, obv. 6; *amel matilu Aššur<sup>pl</sup>*, [262] K. 607, obv. 7; *mat An-šár<sup>ki</sup>*, [266] K. 79, obv. 13; *mat An-šár*, [10] K. 641, obv. 1; *An-šár<sup>ki</sup> pl.*, [290] K. 828, rv. 15; *mat Aš*, [308] K. 1619B, rv. 7; *mat Aššur*, [276] K. 154, obv. 8, [308] K. 1619B, rv. 4 [541] K. 97, obv. 4, [544] K. 464, rv. 3, [595] K. 1119, rv. 2, 3, 7, [616] K. 1164, obv. 3, [638] K. 2908, obv. 12, [870] 82-5-22, 107, obv. 9, rv. 3; *mat Aššur-ai*, [602] K. 1127, obv. 3, 10; *amel Aššur<sup>ki</sup>-ai*, [460] K. 1250, rv. 1, [520] K. 680, obv. 5; *amel Aššur-ai*, [271] K. 1220, obv. 10; [*amel*] *Aš-šú-ra-ai*, [74] K. 185, obv. 9.
- <sup>a1</sup>AŠŠUR: [484] 81-7-27, 33, obv. 14; <sup>a1</sup>Lib-er, [48] K. 1019, obv. 5, [88] K. 507, obv. 8, [91] K. 620, obv. 11, rv. 2, [92] K. 656, obv. 5, [94] K. 1147 + K. 1947, obv. 8, 10, [106] K. 1209, rv. 6, [150] K. 598, obv. 3, [307] K. 1078, rv. 7, [308] K. 1619B, obv. 2, [365] Bu. 91-5-9, 14, obv. 12, [397] Rm 2, 458, obv. 5, [419] 83-1-18, 24, obv. 13, rv. 3, [442] K. 543, obv. 10, 15, [464] K. 1519, rv. 7, [473] 81-2-4, 65, obv. 17, [479] 83-1-18, 94, obv. 11, [562] K. 927, obv. 10, [615] K. 1153, obv. 8, [724] K. 548, rv. 12, [817] K. 184, obv. 8, [819] K. 716, obv. 8, [820] K. 720, obv. 8, [821] K. 792, rv. 5, [822] K. 802, rv. 2, [823] K. 1368, rv. 2, [824] K. 13116, rv. 2, [825] Rm 205, rv. 2, [826] 82-5-22, 37, rv. 2, [827] 83-1-18, 192, rv. 3, [828] Bu. 91-5-9, 6, rv. 2, [845] 82-5-22, 93, rv. 7; <sup>a1</sup>Lib-er, [211] K. 662, obv. 1; <sup>a1</sup>Lib-er-ai, [386] 83-1-18, 9, obv. 11, [473] 81-2-4, 65, obv. 3, [812] 82-5-22, 93, rv. 3; <sup>a1</sup>Aš, [530] 80-7-19, 40, obv. 8.
- AZ<sup>ki</sup>: [336] K. 644, rv. 28.
- <sup>a1</sup>A.ZA.RI: [635] K. 1516, rv. 8.
- <sup>a1</sup>BÂB BÎT.ĶI: [89] K. 515, obv. 9, rv. 4, 12, [830] K. 1376, obv. 8; <sup>a1</sup>Bab-bît-ķa, [542] K. 114, obv. 13.
- BÂBILI(KA.DINGIR.RA): [32] K. 527, rv. 9, [66] K. 1017, rv. 3, [119] K. 499, rv. 8, 11, [387] Sm. 1045, rv. 14, [412] 48-7-20, 115, obv. 12, [464] K. 1519, obv. 4, rv. 9, [471] 80-7-19, 41, obv. 8, [502] K. 661, rv. 13, [522] K. 898, obv. 5, [572] K. 1001, obv. 8, [588] K. 1105, obv. 5, 11, [870] 82-5-22, 107, obv. 12; *marē Ka-dingir-ra<sup>ki</sup>*, [340] Bu. 91-5-9, 183, rv. 7, 9, [670] K. 12, obv. 9; <sup>a1</sup>Ka-dingir-ra, [196] K. 125, obv. 15, [241] K. 1044, rv. 5, 16; *amel mar Ka-dingir-ra*,

- [438] K. 177, rv. 28, [608] K. 1136, rv. 3; Ka-dingir<sup>ki</sup>, [23] K. 602, rv. 12, [180] K. 573, obv. 9, rv. 4, [338] 82-5-22, 98, obv. 13, [340] Bu. 91-5-9, 183, obv. 22, rv. 2, [437] K. 168, obv. 7, [455] K. 999, rv. 11, [852] K. 479, rv. 5; amēl mār Bāb-iliki, [315] K. 1402, obv. 12; amēl Bāb-iliki<sup>pl.</sup>, [301] K. 84, obv. 1; mārē Bāb-iliki, [340] Bu. 91-5-9, 183, rv. 2; al Bāb-ili, [474] 81-2-4, 67, obv. 14; Bāb-ili, [113] K. 501, rv. 7, [167] K. 582, rv. 3, [842] K. 4758, rv. 8; amēl Bābi-la, [848] K. 508, rv. 1, 7; Din-Tir<sup>ki</sup>, [202] K. 83, obv. 5, 16, rv. 18, [212] K. 679, obv. 24, [255] K. 552, obv. 12, [259] K. 509, obv. 9, 10, 13, [261] K. 563, obv. 10, [264] K. 1045, obv. 10, [313] K. 1081, obv. 4, [326] K. 1249, obv. 5, rv. 6, 13, [327] K. 517, rv. 11, [336] K. 664, obv. 15, rv. 12, [403] Bu. 91-5-9, 210, obv. 2, 9, 21, [412] 48-7-20, 115, rv. 3, 11, 14, [418] Sm. 1028, obv. 3, 10, rv. 2, 8, [434] Bu. 89-4-26, 163, obv. 7, [436] K. 145, obv. 5, rv. 1, [454] K. 961, rv. 14, [501] Bu. 91-5-9, 39, obv. 9, [516] 81-7-27, 31, rv. 3, [571] K. 998, obv. 12, 18, rv. 1, [588] K. 1105, obv. 9, [702] 81-2-4, 77, obv. 4, 7, 9, rv. 1, 7, [793] 83-1-18, 79, rv. 12, [804] K. 544, rv. 25, [807] Bu. 91-5-9, 90, obv. 5, 7, [815] 48-7-20, 116, rv. 5, [833] K. 982, obv. 7, 8, 12, [844] K. 986, obv. 7, 10, [846] K. 508, obv. 5, [865] K. 8389, obv. 9; al Din-Tir<sup>ki</sup>, [468] Rm 217, obv. 10, [780] K. 4734, obv. 14; mārē Din-Tir<sup>ki</sup>, [848] K. 508, obv. 8; amēl Din-Tir<sup>ki</sup><sup>pl.</sup>, [210] K. 647, rv. 13, [283] K. 597, rv. 10, [301] K. 84, obv. 12, [403] Bu. 91-5-9, 210, obv. 2, 9, 21, [412] 48-7-20, 115, rv. 14, [571] K. 998, obv. 4, [702] 81-2-4, 77, rv. 1, [793] 83-1-18, 79, rv. 12, [807] Bu. 91-5-9, 90, obv. 5, [833] K. 982, obv. 7, [844] K. 986, obv. 7; amēl Din-Tir<sup>ki</sup> me, [815] 48-7-20, 116, rv. 5; amēl Din-Dir-ai, [811] Bu. 89-4-26, 63+81, obv. 7.
- BĀB.'I.LA: [24] K. 626, obv. 13.
- mat BĀ.BI.TE: [408] Rm 2, 1, rv. 18.
- mat BĀ.BU.TA.AI: [619] K. 1182, obv. 8.
- al BĀ.IL.TAK(?) NU: [511] K. 654, rv. 1.
- amēl BĀ . . . . NU: [576] K. 1009, rv. 5.
- nār BĀ.NĪ.TI: [327] K. 517, rv. 7; nār Banī-ti, [327] K. 517, rv. 9, 13.
- al BĀ.ĶAR.RI: [552] K. 640, rv. 6.
- mat BĀR.ĦAL.ZA: [43] K. 122, obv. 13, 16, [71] K. 1113+K. 1229, rv. 1, [91] K. 4770, obv. 10, [97] K. 4770, obv. 10, [394] 81-2-4, 57, obv. 11, [767] 83-1-18, 75, obv. 13; mat Bar-ḫal-zi, [421] 83-1-18, 6, obv. 13.
- BĀR.SĪP<sup>ki</sup>: [313] K. 1081, obv. 4, [315] K. 1402, obv. 13, [320] K. 7473, obv. 6, [336] K. 664, obv. 15, rv. 3, [337] D. T. 98, obv. 7, [340] Bu. 91-5-9, 183, rv. 7, [349] Rm 78, obv. 4; amēl Bār-sīp<sup>ki</sup>, [349] Rm 78, obv. 11, Bār-sip<sup>ki</sup>, [345] 83-1-18, 39, obv. 6, [808] Bu. 91-5-9, 113, rv. 8.
- al BĒL<sup>1</sup>.E: [43] K. 122, obv. 15; al Bēl<sup>2</sup>-ili, [843] K. 846, obv. 10, rv. 11.
- al BĒ.LI.E: [767], 83-1-18, 75, obv. 15.

<sup>1</sup> Sign, Be.<sup>2</sup> Sign, En.

- <sup>ma</sup>tBI.RA.TA.AI: [396] Sm. 1090, obv. 8; [<sup>a</sup>l]Bi-ra-a-te, [78] K. 5465, obv. 8.  
<sup>a</sup>lBIR.TUM: [43] K. 122, obv. 20; <sup>a</sup>lBi-ir-ti, [462] K. 1374, rv. 13;  
<sup>a</sup>lBir-te, [311] K. 630, obv. 14, [314] K. 1227, obv. 4; <sup>a</sup>me<sup>l</sup>Bir-ta-ai,  
 [262] K. 607, obv. 13; <sup>a</sup>lBi-rat, [88] K. 507, obv. 7, [138] K. 469, obv.  
 5, [259] K. 509, rv. 1, [431] Sm. 984, obv. 5; <sup>a</sup>lBir-ta-ai, [259] K.  
 509, obv. 6, 12.  
<sup>a</sup>lBIR.TE.ŠÁ=ADAD.RIM.A.NI: [441] K. 534, obv. 7.  
<sup>a</sup>lBIR.TI.ŠÚ.LA.NI: [459] K. 1141, rv. 5.  
 BÎT A.DI.NI: [314] K. 1227, rv. 3, [642] K. 12046, obv. 2.  
<sup>ma</sup>tBÎT AM.MAN.NA.AI: [632] K. 1295, obv. 2.  
 BÎT<sup>m</sup>A.MUK.A.NI: [275] K. 82, obv. 6, rv. 9. [279] K. 6941, obv. 8,  
 10; Bit A-muk-kan-na, [258] K. 615, obv. 10, rv. 3, 9; <sup>a</sup>me<sup>l</sup>Bit  
<sup>m</sup>A-muk-a-nu, [517] 82-5-22, 91, obv. 8.  
<sup>ma</sup>tBÎT BA.AL.ZA: [637] K. 1888, obv. 5.  
<sup>a</sup>lBÎT BU.NAK.KI: [799] K. 7299, obv. 9.  
 BÎT DA.BU.U.NI: [544] K. 464, obv. 15.  
 BÎT <sup>a</sup>me<sup>l</sup>DA.KU.RA.AI: [238] K. 1107, obv. 5; <sup>ma</sup>tBit<sup>m</sup>Da-ku-ru,  
 [588] K. 1105, rv. 3; <sup>a</sup>lBit<sup>m</sup>Da-ku-ru, [336] K. 644, obv. 5, 16;  
<sup>a</sup>lBit<sup>m</sup>Da-ku-ri, [542] K. 114, obv. 9, 14, 15; <sup>a</sup>lŠa Bit<sup>m</sup>Da-  
 ku-ru, [496] K. 145, obv. 14.  
 BÎT.<sup>m</sup>DA.NI.I: [1] K. 167, obv. 12.  
 BÎT DÛR.A.NI: [443] K. 579, obv. 7.  
 BÎT ĦA.BAN: [242] K. 11148, obv. 10; <sup>ma</sup>tBit Ħa-ban, [312] K.  
 689, obv. 17.  
 BÎT ĦI.RA.KI: [397] R<sup>m</sup> 2, 458, obv. 3.  
<sup>a</sup>lBÎT<sup>m</sup>ĦU.US.SA.AN.NI: [336] K. 644, rv. 6.  
<sup>a</sup>lBÎT<sup>m</sup>IM.BI.IA: [781] K. 823, obv. 10; [<sup>a</sup>lBit<sup>m</sup>]Im-bi-ia, [328]  
 K. 638, rv. 4.  
 BÎT<sup>m</sup>IA.KI.NI: [516] 81-7-27, 31, rv. 14; Bit<sup>m</sup>Ia-a-ki-ni, [542]  
 K. 114, obv. 12.  
<sup>a</sup>lBÎT<sup>m</sup>IA.RI[ ]: [239] K. 5585, rv. 10.  
 BÎT.KA.RI: [242] K. 11148, rv. 9.  
<sup>ma</sup>tBÎT.KI[ ]: [144] K. 194, rv. 4.  
 BÎT MAR.DI.TI.E: [414] R<sup>m</sup> 77, obv. 4.  
 BÎT.<sup>m</sup>MAR.DU.U: [179] K. 664, obv. 4; <sup>ma</sup>re<sup>pl</sup>.<sup>m</sup>Mar-du-u, [179]  
 K. 664, obv. 9, 10.  
 BÎT NA.AI.LU: [548] K. 1122, rv. 6.  
 BÎT.NA.AI.LA.NI: [220] K. 1274, obv. 9.  
 BÎT ŠA.ME: [480] K. 8402, obv. 7.  
<sup>ma</sup>tBÎT ZA.MA.NI: [245] K. 513, rv. 6, [757] Sm. 548+Sm. 887, obv. 8.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Streck (*AJSL*, Vol. XXII, p. 223) is inclined to regard Bit<sup>m</sup>Ri-ta-a [129] K. 5453, obv. 5, as a geographical name. That is not so. The sign ri should be read Dal, and the name identified with Daltā, king of Ellipi, and Bit<sup>m</sup>Daltā understood as the house of Daltā. Streck likewise proposes to regard Bit-ku-din, [245] K. 513, obv. 4, 13, 17, [312] K. 689, rv. 9, as a geographical name.



- a<sup>1</sup>BU.LU.U:** [705] 82-5-22, 109, rv. 16; **a<sup>1</sup>Bu-lu-a**, [506] K. 678, obv. 11; **a<sup>1</sup>Bu-li-ai**, [112] K. 485, rv. 4.
- ma<sup>t</sup>DA.DU.NI:** [641] K. 9389, obv. 5.
- a<sup>1</sup>DAḤ.ER<sup>1</sup>:** [207] K. 541, obv. 9.
- ame<sup>1</sup>DAḤ.ḤA.<sup>2</sup>:** [282] K. 524, obv. 10, 11; **ame<sup>1</sup>Daḥ-ḥa-sar<sup>2</sup>-ú-a**, [281] K. 13, obv. 21.
- ame<sup>1</sup>DA.I.KA.NI.E:** [845] K. 508, obv. 4, rv. 2.
- ame<sup>1</sup>DA.MU.NU:** [846] K. 673, rv. 9; **ame<sup>1</sup>Da-mu-na-ai**, [846] K. 673, rv. 4, [849] K. 580, obv. 12.
- a<sup>1</sup>DA.A.NA:** [372] 80-7-19, 26, rv. 8.
- na<sup>r</sup>DA.<sup>1</sup>NA:** [312] K. 689, obv. 10.
- a<sup>1</sup>DA.NI.BA.NI:** [506] K. 678, obv. 12.
- a<sup>1</sup>DAN.NI.TE:** [205] K. 537, obv. 10.
- a<sup>1</sup>DA.RA.A.TI:** [222] K. 186, obv. 9, rv. 4, 10; **a<sup>1</sup>Da-ra-a-te**, [222] K. 186, obv. 4; **ame<sup>1</sup>Da-ra-ta-ai**, [222] K. 186, obv. 3.
- ma<sup>t</sup>DA.RU:** [438] K. 177, obv. 15, rv. 9.
- DÛR ŠÁ.MMU.ŠE.ZIB:** [685] 81-2-4, 96, rv. 1.
- a<sup>1</sup>DÛR iluŠAMAŠ:** [147] K. 1170, rv. 6.
- a<sup>1</sup>DÛR SA.ME.DI:** [615] K. 1153, obv. 3, rv. 2.
- a<sup>1</sup>DÛR mŠAR.UKÎN:** [138] K. 469, rv. 20, [154] K. 653, rv. 19, [232] K. 1059, obv. 8, [440] K. 493, obv. 12, [452] K. 943, rv. 20, [731] 81-7-27, 41, rv. 4, [813] K. 688, obv. 12, rv. 5, [845] K. 671, obv. 7; **a<sup>1</sup>Dûr<sup>m</sup>Šar-ukîn-na**, [122] K. 491, obv. 4; **a<sup>1</sup>Dûr Šar-ukîn**, [107] K. 4304, rv. 3, [167] K. 582, obv. 5, [190] K. 596, rv. 1, [191] K. 623, obv. 5, 10, [319] K. 7384, rv. 6, [433] 79-7-8, 138, rv. 10, [480] K. 8402, obv. 9, [503] K. 667, rv. 17, [538] K. 531, rv. 2, [709] 80-7-19, 67, rv. 3, [842] K. 4758, rv. 5, [859] 82-5-22, 134, rv. 19; **a<sup>1</sup>Dûr Šar-gi-na**, [544] K. 464, rv. 8; **a<sup>1</sup>Dûr Šár-ru-ku**, [339] 83-1-18, 19, obv. 7; **a<sup>1</sup>Dûr Šar-ru-ki**, [558] K. 896, rv. 5, 9.
- DÛR.TA.GI.DA.A.NI:** [126] K. 609, rv. 6.
- a<sup>1</sup>DÛR TA.LI.TI:** [408] R<sup>m</sup> 2, 1, obv. 15, rv. 1, [635] K. 1516, rv. 5, 7.
- ma<sup>t</sup>E.BIR.NÂRI:** [706] K. 1076, rv. 3, [67] K. 1050, rv. 5.
- a<sup>1</sup>ÊKALLÂTE<sup>p<sup>1</sup></sup>:** [99] K. 5466, rv. 5, 9.
- ma<sup>t</sup>ELAMTU (= NUM.MA<sup>ki</sup>):** [38] K. 1049, rv. 3, [256] K. 1202, rv. 8, [266] K. 79, obv. 9, 10, 14, 16, rv. 5, 8, [267] K. 462, rv. 5, 7, 10, 14, [268] K. 514, obv. 19, [269] K. 528, obv. 13, [277] K. 1066, rv. 11, 12, [280] K. 10, obv. 9, rv. 7, 15, [281] K. 13, obv. 4, 17, rv. 11, [282] K. 524, obv. 9, rv. 19, 21, [283] K. 597, obv. 5, 9, [295] K. 1139, obv. 5, 10, [328] K. 638, obv. 14, 21, [405] 81-2-4, 63, rv. 10, 14, 19, [422] R<sup>m</sup> 215, obv. 5, [462] K. 1374, obv. 16 *bis*, [476] 83-1-18, 5, rv. 19, [520] K. 680, rv. 15, [521] 83-1-18, 4, rv. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, [527] K. 830, rv. 8, [541] K. 97, obv. 6, [576] K. 1009, obv. 8, [588] K. 1105, obv. 3, [702]

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *akk.*<sup>2</sup> Perhaps *ak.*

- 81-2-4, 77, rv. 3, [736] K. 1030, obv. 9, 10, [746] 83-1-18, 146, obv. 5, [764] 83-1-18, 162, rv. 3, [791] 83-1-18, 51, rv. 4, [792] 83-1-18, 52, obv. 9, 13, [793] 83-1-18, 79, obv. 7, 12, [794] 83-1-18, 150, obv. 7, 8, [799] K. 7299, obv. 7, rv. 1, [800] K. 7424, obv. 7, [831] K. 470, rv. 9, [839] 83-1-18, 21, obv. 9, [863] K. 1196, obv. 5; *maṭNum<sup>ki</sup>*, [328] K. 638, obv. 10; *maṭNum-ma*, [541] K. 97, rv. 7.
- ameṣNUM.MA.AI*: [140] K. 518, obv. 14; *ameṣE-la-ma-ai*, [478] 83-1-18, 8, rv. 11.
- a<sup>1</sup>EL.EN.ZA.A*: [139] K. 1067, obv. 7.
- a<sup>1</sup>EL.IZ*: [101] K. 561, obv. 19.
- a<sup>1</sup>EL.IZ.ZA.DU*: [492] 81-2-4, 60, obv. 12; *a<sup>1</sup>El-iz-za-da*, [492] 81-2-4, 60, obv. 6.
- maṭEL.LI.PA*: [174] K. 619, obv. 9.
- [*maṭEN-ZI*]-*TE-NI*: [444] K. 645, obv. 6.
- ameṣEridu(=NUN<sup>ki</sup>).Ú.A*: [753] 82-5-2, 111, rv. 9; *a<sup>1</sup>Šár*, [474], 81-2-4, 67, obv. 3, 5.
- a<sup>1</sup>EZIGGI*: [214] K. 831, obv. 7-8.
- a<sup>1</sup>E.ZI.AD*: [424] Sm. 760, rv. 1.
- a<sup>1</sup>GAM.BU.LU*: [269] K. 528, obv. 9, rv. 5; *ameṣmaṭGam-bu-la-ai*, [771] 83-1-18, 49, obv. 2; *ameṣGam-bu-la-ai*, [140] K. 578, rv. 4, [293] K. 1054, obv. 2, [846] K. 673, rv. 9, [862] K. 1056, rv. 4, 6.
- maṭGA.MIR*: [197] K. 181, obv. 9; *maṭGa-mir-ra*, [146] K. 1080, obv. 6, 9; *ameṣGa-me-ra-ai*, [112] K. 485, obv. 4; *maṭGamir(ir)*, [197] K. 181, rv. 10.
- a<sup>1</sup>GA.NA.TA*: [468] Rm 217, rv. 12.
- a<sup>1</sup>GAR.GA.MIŠ*: [120] K. 1461, obv. 15 [317] K. 5291, obv. 13; *a<sup>1</sup>Gar-ga-miš-ai*, [186] K. 11, rv. 8; *a<sup>1</sup>Ša Gar-ga-miš*, [609] K. 1140, obv. 5.
- maṭGU.UB.LA.AI*: [632] K. 1295, rv. 1.
- a<sup>1</sup>GU.MU.TA.NU*: [616] K. 1164, obv. 4; *a<sup>1</sup>Gu-mu-ta-ni*, [616] K. 1164, rv. 2.
- maṭGU.RA.SIM.MU*: [754] K. 5457, obv. 7; *maṭGu-ra-sim-[mu]*, [754] K. 5457, obv. 15; *ameṣGu-ra-sim-ma*, [790] Sm. 1392, obv. 7; *ameṣGu-ra-sim-mu*, [839] 83-1-18, 21, obv. 17; *ameṣGu-ra-sim-ma-ai*, [794] 83-1-18, 150, rv. 5, [833] K. 982, obv. 7.
- maṭGU.RI.A.NI.A*: [146] K. 1080, obv. 5.
- a<sup>1</sup>GU.ZA.NA*: [43] K. 122, obv. 21, [167] K. 582, obv. 8, 21, [545] K. 465, rv. 3, [575] K. 1005, obv. 11, [633] K. 1366, obv. 9, 18, rv. 6, [700] 83-1-18, 157, obv. 5.
- maṭHA.BAN*: [556] K. 683, rv. 2.
- a<sup>1</sup>HA.AI.DA.A.LU*: [281] K. 13, obv. 15.
- a<sup>1</sup>HA.AI.DA.NU*: [280] K. 10, rv. 19; *a<sup>1</sup>Ha-da[-a]-a-an*, [395] Bu. 91-5-9, 136, rv. 1.

- <sup>mat</sup>ĤA.LAĤ.ĤI: [421] 83-1-18, 6, obv. 7; <sup>mat</sup>Ĥa-lāḫ-bi, [480] K. 8402, obv. 7.  
<sup>amēl</sup>ĤAL.MAN.AI: [464] K. 1519, obv. 13.  
<sup>mat</sup>ĤAL.LAT.<sup>1</sup>AI: [94] K. 1147 + K. 1947, rv. 2.  
<sup>al</sup>ĤA.LU.LI.E: [262] K. 607, obv. 12.  
<sup>mat</sup>ĤAL.ZI.AT.PAR:<sup>2</sup> [43] K. 122, obv. 19, [480] K. 8402, obv. 15; <sup>mat</sup>Ĥal-zi-at-par<sup>1</sup>-ai, [245] K. 513, obv. 9.  
<sup>al</sup>ĤAL.ŠU: [685] 81-2-4, 96, obv. 14, [799] K. 1299, obv. 5, rv. 25, [800] K. 7424, obv. 5.  
<sup>amēl</sup>ĤA.MA.RA.NA.AI: [268] Rm 217, rv. 9.  
<sup>mat</sup>ĤA.MA.TE: [225] K. 674, obv. 7; <sup>mat</sup>Ĥa-ma-ta-ai, [331] K. 581, rv. 5; <sup>amēl</sup>Ĥa-mat, [520] K. 680, obv. 14.  
<sup>al</sup>ĤA.MU: [214] K. 831, rv. 15, 16.  
<sup>al</sup>ĤA.AR.DA: [424] Sm. 760, obv. 11; <sup>al</sup>Ĥar-da, [548] K. 593, rv. 7.  
<sup>al</sup>ĤAR.ĤAR: [556] K. 683, rv. 11.  
<sup>al</sup>ĤA.RI.ĤUM.BA: [74] K. 185, obv. 6 (?), 14.  
<sup>al</sup>ĤA.RI.PA: [645] Rm 2, 464, obv. 9.  
<sup>al</sup>ĤAR.MA.ŠŪ: [831] K. 470, rv. 6.  
<sup>al</sup>ĤARRĀNU: [489] 83-1-18, 117, obv. 5.  
<sup>mat</sup>ĤAR.ŠA.AI: [466] Sm. 51, obv. 9.  
<sup>al</sup>ĤAR.TE[. ]: [36] K. 1032, obv. 7.  
<sup>al</sup>ĤA.TI.ŠA.RU:<sup>3</sup> [285] K. 1926, rv. 11.  
<sup>mat</sup>DI.KU.KI.NA: [43] K. 122, obv. 18; <sup>al</sup>Di-ku-ki-na, [724] K. 548, obv. 6.  
<sup>al</sup>DIL.<sup>4</sup>BA.AT<sup>ki</sup>: [310] K. 610, rv. 7, 11; <sup>amēl</sup>Dil-bat<sup>ki</sup> <sup>pl.</sup>, [326] K. 1249, obv. 10; Dil-bat<sup>ki</sup>, [326] K. 1249, obv. 9.  
<sup>al</sup>DI.MAŠ-KI: [158] K. 530, obv. 5; <sup>al</sup>Di-maš-ka-ai, [193] K. 542, obv. 7; <sup>amēl</sup>Ša-imēri-šu, [307] K. 1078, obv. 3.  
<sup>al</sup>DIN.U.ZU(?): [556] K. 638, rv. 9.  
<sup>mat</sup>DI.RI: [308] K. 1619B, obv. 3; <sup>al</sup>Di-ru, [430] Rm 72, obv. 6; <sup>al</sup>Di-e-ru, [781] K. 823, rv. 11; <sup>al</sup>Di-e-ri, [775] Sm. 268a, rv. 14, [779] K. 7299, obv. 4, [868] 81-2-4, 119, obv. 6; <sup>al</sup>Di-ri, [140] K. 518, obv. 7, rv. 6, [157] K. 504, obv. 18, [449] K. 839, obv. 6, [800] K. 7424, obv. 4; [<sup>al</sup>]Di-ri, [866], 81-2-4, 93, obv. 7.  
<sup>al</sup>DU.UM.MA.ŠAK.KA: [849] K. 580, rv. 6.  
<sup>al</sup>DU.UM.MU.ḲU: [774] Bu. 89-4-26, 162, obv. 14.  
<sup>al</sup>DŪR<sup>il</sup>u.A.NU.NI.TI: [455] K. 999, rv. 7.  
<sup>al</sup>DŪR.A.TA.NA.TE: [635] K. 1516, rv. 2, 4; <sup>al</sup>Dūr<sup>š</sup>alAtānā<sup>pl.</sup>-te, [408] Rm 2, 1, rv. 13.  
<sup>al</sup>DŪR.BĒL.<sup>il</sup>uAI: [170] K. 1013, rv. 11, [455] K. 999, rv. 8.

<sup>1</sup>Or mat.<sup>2</sup>Or AD. MAŠ.<sup>3</sup>Or, <sup>al</sup>Ĥa-dar-ru.<sup>4</sup>Sign, ki.

- DŪR.ILI<sup>ki</sup>:** [401] 83-1-18, 30, obv. 4, [412] 48-7-20, 115, obv. 15, [460] K. 1250, obv. 14, [476] 83-1-18, 5, rv. 12, 14, 21, [516] 81-7-27, 31, rv. 8.
- DŪR IA.KI.NI:** [867] 81-2-4, 94, obv. 4; DŪr ša mIa-ki-na, [865] K. 8389, rv. 7; <sup>a1</sup>DŪr Ia-ki-na-ai, [131] K. 625, rv. 4, [867] 81-2-4, 94, obv. 6.
- ma<sup>at</sup>HA.AT.TU:** [337] D. T. 98, rv. 15, [629] K. 1263, obv. 21; ma<sup>at</sup>Ha-at-tum, [702] 81-2-4, 77, rv. 3; ma<sup>at</sup>Hat-ti, [629] K. 1263, obv. 24.
- a<sup>1</sup>HI.E.SA:** [414] Rm 77, obv. 4, 12.
- a<sup>1</sup>HI.GA.LI.A:** [794] 83-1-18, 150, rv. 13.
- a<sup>1</sup>HI.IN.DA.NU:** [671] K. 78, rv. 5; ma<sup>at</sup>Hi-in-[da-nu], [93] K. 1057, obv. 7; <sup>a1</sup>Hi-in-za-ni, [547] K. 587, obv. 14; ma<sup>at</sup>Hi-in-za-ni, [547] K. 587, rv. 2.
- ame<sup>1</sup>HI.IN.DAR.AI:** [848] K. 508, obv. 8, 11, [865] K. 8389, obv. 5; [ame<sup>1</sup>Hi-in]-dar-ai, [850] K. 1214, obv. 8.
- a<sup>1</sup>HI.PU.Ū:** [702] 81-2-4, 77, obv. 9.
- a<sup>1</sup>HI.Ū.RI:** [763] 81-2-4, 126, obv. 2.
- ma<sup>at</sup>HU.BU.ŪŠ.KA.AI:** [197] K. 181, rv. 20; ma<sup>at</sup>Hu-bu-us-ki, [434] Bu. 89-4-22, 163, obv. 11; ma<sup>at</sup>Hu-bu-us-ki-a, [434] Bu. 89-4-22, 163, obv. 21; [a<sup>1</sup>1]Hu-bu-us-ka-a, [441] K. 534, obv. 17.
- na<sup>r</sup>HU.UD.HU.UD:** [280] K. 10, rv. 18.
- ame<sup>1</sup>HU.HA.AN:** [281] K. 13, obv. 14.
- ma<sup>at</sup>HU.UP.KA.AI:** [515] K. 621, rv. 3.
- na<sup>r</sup>I.KA.RU:** [705] 82-5-22, 109, rv. 10.
- a<sup>1</sup>IR.GI.DU:** [280] K. 10, obv. 11.
- a<sup>1</sup>I.SA.NA:** [43] K. 122, obv. 15, 19, [63] K. 549, obv. 11, [372] 80-7-19, 26, rv. 17, [585] K. 1098, obv. 7.
- a<sup>1</sup>IŠ.ḲI.A:** [136] K. 631, obv. 6, [191] K. 623, obv. 4, [526] K. 628, obv. 4.
- a<sup>1</sup>IŠ.RAM.NI:** [571] K. 998, rv. 18.
- ma<sup>at</sup>I.TA.AI:** [467] Sm. 456, rv. 18; ma<sup>at</sup>I-tu-', [830] K. 1376, obv. 10; ma<sup>at</sup>I-tu'-ai, [95] K. 1151, rv. 3; ame<sup>1</sup>I-tu'-u, [138] K. 469, rv. 11; ame<sup>1</sup>I-tu-u, [506] K. 678, rv. 15; ame<sup>1</sup>I-tu-', [572] K. 1001, obv. 10, [685] 81-2-4, 96, rv. 22; ame<sup>1</sup>I-tú'-ai, [201] K. 690, obv. 5, [242] K. 11148, rv. 16, [388] Rm 2, 463, obv. 7, [419] 81-1-18, 24, obv. 10, 12; ame<sup>1</sup>I-tú . . . , [147] K. 1170, rv. 5; ame<sup>1</sup>I-tú'-e, [506] K. 678, rv. 10; ame<sup>1</sup>I-tu-ai, [424] S. 760, rv. 2, 10; ame<sup>1</sup>I-tu'-ai-e-a, [482] 82-5-22, 104, obv. 6; ame<sup>1</sup>U-tu'-ai, [349] Rm 78, rv. 3.
- ma<sup>at</sup>I.ZAL.LI:** [644] Rm 2, 461, obv. 5.
- ame<sup>1</sup>IA.A.DA.ḲU.AI:** [349] Rm 78, rv. 4.
- a<sup>1</sup>IA.RI:** [173] K. 686, rv. 1; <sup>a1</sup>Ia-e-ri, [441] K. 534, obv. 5.
- ame<sup>1</sup>IA.A.ŠI.AN:** [280] K. 10, obv. 14.
- ma<sup>at</sup>IA.SU.PI:** [581] K. 1072, rv. 4; ma<sup>at</sup>Ia-su-me (*sic!*), [245] K. 513, rv. 3; ma<sup>at</sup>Ia-šú-pu, [228] K. 1055, rv. 9.
- ma<sup>at</sup>IA.U.DA.AI:** [632] K. 1295, obv. 6.

- <sup>a1</sup>KAK.ZA: [211] K. 662, rv. 9; <sup>a1</sup>Kak-sim, [346] Bu. 89-4-26, 9, obv. 3; <sup>a1</sup>Kak-zi, [43] K. 122, obv. 14, [64] K. 550, obv. 12, [389] Sm. 1034, obv. 8, [615] K. 1153, rv. 1, [843] K. 846, rv. 6; <sup>a1</sup>Kak-zi-ai, [386] 83-1-18, 9, obv. 7.
- <sup>mat</sup>KAL.DU: [337] D. T. 98, rv. 15; <sup>mat</sup>Kal-di, [629] K. 1263, obv. 23, 24; <sup>mat</sup>Kal-dá-ai, [742] Rm 2, 462, obv. 5; <sup>amē1</sup>Kal-du, [240] K. 7467, obv. 11; <sup>amē</sup>Kal-da-ai, [245] K. 513, rv. 2, 9, [247] K. 1027, rv. 3, [411] Rm 2, 5, obv. 5. [564] K. 937, obv. 6, [759] D. T. 63, obv. 6, [763] 81-2-4, 126, obv. 5.
- <sup>a1</sup>KAL.ĪI: [65] K. 629, obv. 7, 14, [71] K. 1143+K. 1229, obv. 13, [440] K. 493, obv. 10; <sup>a1</sup>Kal-ĥa, [6] K. 595, rv. 9, [52] K. 80, rv. 7, [106] K. 1209, rv. 2, 7, [127] K. 616, rv. 11, [198] K. 5464, rv. 22, [232] K. 1059, obv. 5, [233] K. 7339, obv. 5, [235] K. 13016, obv. 7, [394] 81-2-4, 57, rv. 2, [453] K. 943, rv. 9, [476] 83-1-18, 5, obv. 10, [486] K. 8375, obv. 5, rv. 11, 15, [493] 83-1-18, 13, rv. 16, [547] K. 587, rv. 9, 16, [626] K. 1233, rv. 4, [730] Rm 2, 14, rv. 11; <sup>a1</sup>Kāl-ĥa, [23] K. 602, rv. 10, [175] K. 614, obv. 9; <sup>a1</sup>Kāl-ĥa, [211] K. 662, rv. 9; <sup>a1</sup>Kal-ĥa-ai, [386] 83-1-18, 9, obv. 21, [529] K. 1252a, rv. 13, [712] Sm. 1223, obv. 6; <sup>a1</sup>Kal-laḥ, [57] K. 687, obv. 14, rv. 8; <sup>a1</sup>Ka-laḥ, [698] Sm. 764+Sm. 1650, obv. 10, [702] 81-2-4, 77, obv. 7.
- <sup>a1</sup>KAN.NU'.AI: [529] K. 1252a, obv. 7.
- <sup>a1</sup>KÂR.ME.E: [574] K. 1004, obv. 6.
- <sup>a1</sup>KÂR.īuNA.NA.A: [795] Bu. 91-5-9, 107, rv. 11.
- <sup>a1</sup>KÂR.īuNERGAL: [326] K. 1249, rv. 2.
- <sup>mat</sup>KÂR.SIPARRI: [646] 79-7-8, 292, obv. 12; <sup>a1</sup>Kâr Si-par[-ri], [381] 81-2-4, 55, obv. 12.
- <sup>a1</sup>KÂR.īuŠAMAŠ: [95] K. 1151, obv. 6, 8, [207] K. 541, obv. 10.
- <sup>a1</sup>KÂR.mŠAR.UKÎN: [126] K. 609, obv. 10, [128] K. 650, obv. 9, 15; <sup>a1</sup>Kâr = LUGAL.GI.N[A], [645] Rm 2, 464, obv. 3; <sup>a1</sup>Kâr-LUGAL.GI.NA, [556] K. 683, obv. 7.
- <sup>a1</sup>KÂR.RIŠ: [761] Rm 2, 474, obv. 6.
- <sup>a1</sup>KAR.SI.TÚ . . . : [381] 81-2-4, 55, obv. 12.
- <sup>a1</sup>KA.SAP.PA: [52] K. 80, obv. 9; <sup>a1</sup>Ka-sap-pi, [862] K. 1056, obv. 3, 5.
- <sup>a1</sup>KAŠ.PAR.PAR.EME: [262] K. 607, obv. 9.
- <sup>a1</sup>KI.BA.AT<sup>k1</sup>: [310] K. 610, rv. 7, 11; <sup>a1</sup>Ku-bat[- ], [101] K. 561, obv. 8.
- <sup>amē1</sup>KI.DA.RA.AI: [350] 83-1-18, 29, obv. 8.
- <sup>a1</sup>KI.GU.UḪ.TÚ: [556] K. 683, rv. 10.
- <sup>a1</sup>KI.MAR[. ]: [128] K. 650, rv. 2.
- <sup>mat</sup>KIR.ĪU: [173] K. 686, obv. 11.
- <sup>mat</sup>KI.IR.ME.SI: [769] K. 1042, rv. 3.
- <sup>a1</sup>KI.SIK: [521] 83-1-18, 4, rv. 8, 10; <sup>amē1</sup>Ki-sik<sup>pl</sup>-ai, [210] K. 647,

- obv. 2; <sup>a1</sup>Ki-is-sik, [736] K. 1030, obv. 8; <sup>amē1</sup>Ki-is-sik-ai, [736] K. 1030, obv. 2.
- <sup>a1</sup>KI.ŠI.SI: [459] K. 1141, rv. 4.
- <sup>a1</sup>KI.ZA.ĤA.SI: [556] K. 683, rv. 10.
- <sup>amē1</sup>KUB.<sup>1</sup>TA.AI: [576] K. 1009, rv. 6.
- <sup>a1</sup>KU.LI.IM[.ME(?)].RI(?): [507] K. 1077, obv. 8; <sup>a1</sup>Ku-li-i[- -], [776] R<sup>m</sup> 50, obv. 7.
- <sup>māt</sup>KUL.LA.NI.A: [43] K. 122, obv. 15; <sup>a1</sup>Kul-la-ni-a, [372] 80-7-19, 26, rv. 11.
- <sup>a1</sup>KU.LU.MAN: [129] K. 5458, obv. 6, 8.
- <sup>māt</sup>KU.MA.AI: [619] K. 1182, obv. 7; <sup>a1</sup>Ku-ma-ai, [198] K. 5464, obv. 17, [490] K. 746, obv. 6; <sup>a1</sup>Ku-me, [544] K. 464, obv. 17, 24; <sup>amē1</sup>Ku-um-ma-ai, [206] K. 539, obv. 5; <sup>amē1</sup>Ku-ma-ai-e, [544] K. 464, obv. 13, 16; <sup>a1</sup>Ku-m[u], [101] K. 561, obv. 18.
- <sup>māt</sup>KU.ME.SA.AI: [310] K. 610, obv. 9.
- <sup>māt</sup>KU.MU.ĤA.AI: [196] K. 125, obv. 8, 12, 22.
- <sup>a1</sup>KUR.BA.AN: [29]<sup>1</sup>K. 1204, obv. 9, [123] K. 574, obv. 7, rv. 11, [413] Bu. 51-5-9, 12, rv. 11; <sup>a1</sup>Kur-na<sup>2</sup>-an, [731] 81-7-27, 41, rv. 5.
- <sup>māt</sup>KUR.BA.NI.TI: [451] K. 924, rv. 7.
- <sup>māt</sup>KU.U.SU: [629] K. 1263, rv. 9; <sup>māt</sup>Ku-u-si, [32] K. 527, obv. 14; <sup>māt</sup>Ku-sa-ai, [60] K. 487, obv. 8, [61] K. 529, obv. 9, rv. 1, 5, [64] K. 550, obv. 8, rv. 1, [372] 80-7-19, 260, obv. 7, 9, rv. 1, 3, 9, 16, [373] 82-5-22, 99, obv. 7, 9, 11, 13, [374] 82-5-22, 172, obv. 7, [376] 83-1-18, 42, obv. 12, rv. 1, [394] 81-2-4, 57, obv. 7, 12, 14, rv. 4, [538] K. 531, obv. 9, rv. 4, [601] K. 1126, obv. 5, 12, 14, [649] 81-2-4, 110, obv. 3, rv. 1, [684] 80-7-19, 37, rv. 1, [686] 83-1-18, 113, rv. 4; Ku-sa-ai, [63] K. 549, obv. 7, [374] 82-5-22, 172, obv. 9, 12, [376] 83-1-18, 42, obv. 7, 8, 9, [393] 80-7-19, 25, obv. 9, rv. 2, 4, 10, [575] K. 1005, obv. 7, 9; <sup>a1</sup>Ku-si, [575] 1005, rv. 6.
- KŪTA (=TIG.GAP.A)<sup>ki</sup>: [336] K. 644, rv. 7, [340] Bu. 91-5-9, 183, rv. 8, [464] K. 1519, obv. 4, 18, [527] K. 830, obv. 19, [804] K. 544, rv. 2; <sup>māmē1</sup>Ku-ū-tu, [469] 48-11-4, 282, obv. 6.
- <sup>a1</sup>KU.TŪ.LI: [449] K. 838, obv. 3.
- <sup>a1</sup>LA.AB.BA.NA.AT: [32] K. 527, obv. 8, 16.
- <sup>māt</sup>LA.BA.DU.DA.AI: [537] K. 8535, obv. 5; <sup>māt</sup>Lab-du-di, [798] K. 1023, obv. 6.
- <sup>a1</sup>LĀH.GA.GA: [129] K. 5458, obv. 10.
- <sup>a1</sup>LA.ĤI.RU: [61] K. 529, rv. 4, [280] K. 10, obv. 20, [286] K. 5398, obv. 7, [781] K. 823, obv. 7; <sup>a1</sup>La-ĥi-ri, [459] K. 1141, rv. 6, [543] K. 176, rv. 5, [558] K. 896, rv. 4, 7, [685] 81-2-4, 96, obv. 8, [746] 83-1-18, 146, obv. 9; <sup>a1</sup>La-ĥi-ra-ai, [712] Sm. 1228, rv. 10, 12.

<sup>1</sup>Or, Du, kin.<sup>2</sup>Read ba; the two signs ba and na are very similar, but this passage refers evidently to <sup>a1</sup>Kur-ba-an.

- matLA.KI.E:** [818] K. 688, rv. 7; **alLa-ku-u-a**, [818] K. 688, rv. 3.  
**amelLA.PI.AI:** [600] K. 1125, obv. 8.  
**alLA.AP.SI.IA:** [610] K. 1142, obv. 11.  
**alLA.RAK.KA:** [768] 81-2-4, 126, obv. 6; **ud-ud-ki<sup>ki</sup>**, [344] 83-1-18, 28, rv. 4; **ud-ud-ak<sup>ki</sup>**, [542] K. 114, rv. 6, 10, 13; **amelud-ud<sup>ki</sup>-ú-a**, [344] 83-1-18, 28, rv. 2.  
**alLI[. . .]:** [841] K. 4757, rv. 9.  
**amelLI.HU.U.A.TA.AI:** [468] Rm 217, rv. 8.  
**alLUD.DIN.AN:** [726] 80-7-19, 24, rv. 10; **alLud-din-an-ai**, [727] 83-1-18, 67, obv. 8.  
**alLU.KA.ŠE:** [218] K. 1199, obv. 9.  
**alLU.LI.I[. . .]:** [776] Rm 50, obv. 7.  
**alLU.RI.SI.TE:** [484] 81-7-27, 33, obv. 8.  
**amelmatMA.DA.AI:** [208] K. 617, obv. 8; **matMa-ta-ai**, [126] K. 609, obv. 6.  
**alMA.DAK.TÚ:** [281] K. 13, obv. 23, [285] K. 1926, rv. 11, 12; **alMa-dak-ti**, [281] K. 13, obv. 7.  
**alMA.AH.MI.TI:** [520] K. 680, rv. 14.  
**amelMALA.BE:** [701] Sm. 1338, rv. 1.  
**amelMALA.HA.AI:** [701] Sm. 1338, rv. 2.  
**matMA.NA.AI:** [198] K. 5464, obv. 32, rv. 20, [556] K. 683, rv. 1, 4, [616] K. 1164, obv. 5; **matMan-ai**, [381] 81-2-4, 55, obv. 4, rv. 2, [434] Bu. 89-4-26, 163, obv. 10, 21, rv. 10, 20; **matMa-ni-'**, [414] Rm 77, rv. 14; **matMa-na-nu**, [520] K. 680, obv. 4; **alMu-nu-'**, [98] K. 5465, rv. 10, 13; **matMan-na-ai**, [165] K. 497, rv. 4, [215] K. 1037, rv. 4, [342] 79-7-8, 234, rv. 7, 13, [466] Sm. 51, rv. 5.  
**matMA.NA.NU:** [520] K. 680, obv. 4.  
**MA.NA.KU<sup>ki</sup>:**<sup>1</sup> [516] 81-7-27, 31, obv. 12.  
**amelMAN.DIR.AI:** [168] K. 636, rv. 23.  
**alMA.RA.AD:** [853] K. 905, rv. 5; **Šur-ṭa<sup>ki</sup>**, [238] K. 1107, obv. 9; **al[Ma-rad]**, [853] K. 905, obv. 9, 13.  
**amelMAR.HA.SA.AI:** [190] K. 596, obv. 24.  
**alMAR.HU.HA:** [251] K. 506, obv. 21, rv. 6; **alMar-ḥu-ḥa-ai**, [251] K. 506, rv. 1.  
**alMAR.PA.DA.AI:** [685] 81-2-4, 96, obv. 19.  
**narMAR.RAT:** [418] Sm. 1028, rv. 5, [462] K. 1374, rv. 14, [520] K. 680, rv. 21, [775] Bu. 91-5-9, 107, rv. 3, 6.  
**šadMAŠ:** [448] K. 826, obv. 6, 9.  
**matMA.ZA.MU:** [408] Rm 2, 1, obv. 13; **matMa-za-mu-a**, [556] K. 683, rv. 2.  
**matME.LID.AI:** [375] 83-1-18, 41, rv. 3.

<sup>1</sup>The first sign may be read *u*, and the whole name may be a peculiar way of writing Erech (Unuk<sup>ki</sup>).

- <sup>mat</sup>ME.SA.AI: [61] K. 529, rv. 2, 6, [394] 81-2-4, 57, obv. 8, 15, rv. 5;  
 Me-sa-ai, [71] K. 1113+K. 1229, rv. 9.  
<sup>al</sup>MÊ<sup>pl.</sup>.TÛR.NÂ: [158] K. 590, rv. 16; <sup>al</sup>Mê<sup>pl.</sup>-tur-na, [455] K. 999,  
 rv. 5, 8, [158] K. 590, obv. 16; <sup>al</sup>Me-tur-na, [170] K. 1013, rv. 8;  
<sup>al</sup>Mu-tur-na, [251] K. 506, obv. 5; <sup>al</sup>Mu-tur-na-ai, [251] K.  
 506, obv. 4.  
<sup>mat</sup>MI.ŞIR: [276] K. 154, obv. 6.  
<sup>mat</sup>MU.'BA.AI: [632] K. 1295, obv. 4.  
<sup>al</sup>MU.MA.AI: [246] K. 669, rv. 11.  
<sup>amel</sup>MU.MU.ĶU, [272] K. 4736, rv. 2.  
<sup>al</sup>MU.ZA.ŞIR: [145] K. 910, obv. 8, [380] Rm 2, 3, obv. 7, rv. 4, [409]  
 Rm 2, 2, rv. 1; <sup>al</sup>Mu-za-şî-ri, [381] 81-2-4, 55, obv. 9, [646] 79-7-8,  
 292, obv. 9; <sup>al</sup>Mu-za-şî-ri-ai, [197] K. 181, rv. 17; <sup>mat</sup>Mu-za-şîr,  
 [448] K. 826, obv. 2.  
<sup>al</sup>NA.GI.A.TA.AI: [830] K. 1876, obv. 5.  
<sup>mat</sup>NA.ĦAL: [520] K. 680, obv. 2; <sup>amel</sup>Na-ĥal, [576] K. 1009, rv. 6.  
<sup>nar</sup>NA.ĦAL: [520] K. 680, obv. 18.  
<sup>mat</sup>NA.M[A.RU]: [667] 81-7-27, 30, obv. 17.  
<sup>amel</sup>NAM.ĦA.NU: [272] K. 4736, obv.  
<sup>al</sup>NAM.PI.BAR(?): [323] K. 6005, obv. 6.  
<sup>mat</sup>NA.RI[. ]: [225] K. 674, obv. 7.  
<sup>al</sup>NA.ŞI.BI.NA: [585] K. 1098, obv. 6; <sup>al</sup>Na-şib-na, [585] K. 1098,  
 obv. 11.  
<sup>amel</sup>NI.BA'.A.TI: [260] K. 562, rv. 1.  
<sup>al</sup>NI.KUR: [165] K. 497, rv. 2, [556] K. 683, rv. 9; <sup>amel</sup>Ne-kur<sup>ki</sup>,  
 [520] K. 680, rv. 17.  
<sup>al</sup>NI.MIT.<sup>lu</sup>İŞTAR: [813] K. 688, obv. 8, [814] 81-7-27, 34, obv. 5.  
<sup>al</sup>NI.MIT.LA.GU.DA: [474] 81-2-4, 67, obv. 4; Nimid(?)<sup>lu</sup>La-  
 gu-du<sup>ki</sup>, [516] 81-7-27, 31, obv. 11.  
<sup>al</sup>NINÂ: [49] K. 1168, rv. 18, [62] K. 547, rv. 6, [186] K. 11, obv. 19,  
 [332] K. 13000, rv. 3, [339] 83-1-18, 19, rv. 6, [427] 83-1-18, 35, obv. 6,  
 [610] K. 1142, obv. 18, [620] K. 1210, obv. 12, [841] K. 4757, rv. 12,  
 [845] K. 671, obv. 7; <sup>al</sup>Ni-nu-a, [52] K. 80, obv. 10, [175] K. 614,  
 rv. 2, [440] K. 493, obv. 11, [683] Rm 550, rv. 8, [706] K. 1076, obv. 5,  
 [731] 81-7-27, 41, rv. 3, [841] K. 4757, rv. 11, [867] 81-2-4, 94, rv. 9;  
<sup>al</sup>Ni-nu-u-a, [633] K. 1366, obv. 12; Ni-na<sup>ki</sup>, [484] 81-7-27, 33,  
 rv. 9; Nina, [668] 83-1-18, 255, obv. 5; <sup>al</sup>Ni-nà-a<sup>k</sup>, [456] K. 1012,  
 obv. 13, rv. 12; Ni-nà-a, [792] 83-1-18, 52, rv. 16; Nina<sup>ki</sup>, [17] K.  
 472, rv. 3, [73] K. 5509, obv. 3, [399] 67-4-2, 1, rv. 3, [453] K. 948, obv.  
 5, [494] 80-7-19, 23, obv. 6, [662] 80-7-19, 139, obv. 7, [696] K. 13066,  
 obv. 4, [697] 81-2-4, 73, obv. 6, [766] K. 475, obv. 8, [816] K. 88, obv.  
 4; <sup>al</sup>Nina<sup>ki</sup>, [2] K. 183, rv. 4, [18] K. 490, rv. 4, [52] K. 80, rv. 4,  
 [221] K. 175, obv. 6, [358] Rm 76, obv. 5, [386] 83-1-18, 9, obv. 6, 20,  
 [495] Bu. 91-4-9, 65, obv. 7.



- <sup>al</sup>(<sup>1</sup>)NU.NA.AK: [830] K. 1376, rv.  
<sup>šad</sup>NI.PIR: [311] K. 630, obv. 15.  
 NIPPUR(=EN.KID)<sup>k1</sup>: [202] K. 83, rv. 4, [238] K. 1107, obv. 10, rv. 6, 10, 11, [239] K. 5585, rv. 2, [240] K. 7467, rv. 3, [287] K. 94, obv. 1 (?), [516] 81-7-27, 31, rv. 8, [572] K. 1001, obv. 9, [622] K. 1210, rv. 1, [797] K. 672, obv. 5, 15, 17, [866] 81-2-4, 93, obv. 9, rv. 8; <sup>ameš</sup>En-Kid<sup>k1</sup>, [238] K. 1107, rv. 4, [240] K. 7467, obv. 3, rv. 3, [327] K. 517, rv. 18, [540] K. 87, obv. 4; <sup>ameš</sup>En-Kid<sup>k1pl</sup>, [328] K. 1107, rv. 14, [469] 48-11-4, 282, rv. 10, [866] 81-2-4, 93, rv. 8.  
<sup>al</sup>NU.GIŠ.ŠAR: [574] K. 1004, obv. 7.  
<sup>ameš</sup>NU.ĦA.NU.ÚA: [210] K. 647, obv. 15.  
<sup>al</sup>NU.UĦ.BA.IA: [307] K. 1078, obv. 2, rv. 10.  
<sup>al</sup>PAK.KI.MI.RI: [521] 83-1-18, 4, rv. 24.  
<sup>mat</sup>PAR.SU.A: [165] K. 497, obv. 4, [311] K. 630, obv. 12; <sup>al</sup>Par-su-a, [61] K. 529, obv. 10.  
<sup>al</sup>PAR.ZA.NI.IS.[TUM]: [147] K. 1170, rv. 7.  
<sup>mat</sup>PA.ÁŠ.ŠA.TE: [205] K. 537, obv. 11.  
<sup>nar</sup>PAT.TI.AN.BI: [621] K. 1208, obv. 11.  
<sup>al</sup>PI.EN.ZA.A: [138] K. 409, obv. 9.  
<sup>mat</sup>PI.LIS.TA.AI: [218] K. 1199, obv. 4.  
<sup>al</sup>PU.ĶU.DU: [267] K. 462, rv. 15, [268] K. 514, obv. 9, 12, [751] Sm. 920, obv. 9, [752] Rm 48, rv. 10, 11; <sup>ameš</sup>Pu-ķu-du, [275] K. 82, obv. 6, rv. 10, [279] K. 6946, obv. 9, [282] K. 524, obv. 18, [754] K. 5457, obv. 24, [790] Sm. 1392, obv. 11, [792] 83-1-81, 52, rv. 10; <sup>mat</sup>Pu-ķu-di, [314] K. 1227, obv. 7; [<sup>mat</sup>]Pu-gu-di, [763] 81-2-4, 126, rv. 3; <sup>ameš</sup>Pu-ķu-da, [267] K. 462, obv. 21, [288] K. 95, obv. 6; <sup>al</sup>Pu-ķu-da-ai, [967] K. 462, rv. 4; <sup>ameš</sup>Pu-ķu-da-ai, [754] K. 5457, obv. 26, [808] Bu. 91-5-9, 113, rv. 2; <sup>ameš</sup>Pu-ķud, [402] 83-1-18, 31, obv. 8.  
<sup>nar</sup>PU.RAT.TE: [424] Sm. 760, rv. 11; <sup>nar</sup>Ū-rat, [553] K. 659, rv. 7; <sup>nar</sup>Rat-ti, [336] K. 644, rv. 7.  
<sup>ameš</sup>KA-MUR-RA: [646] 79-7-8, 292, obv. 13, [685] 81-2-4, 96, rv. 22.  
<sup>al</sup>ĶA.AP.PA.TA.AI: [573] K. 1003, obv. 4.  
<sup>mat</sup>ĶA.NI.UN: [444] K. 645, obv. 9; <sup>al</sup>Ķa-ni-un, [444] K. 645, rv. 1.  
<sup>mat</sup>ĶA.AP.RI.BA.KI.I.U: [437] K. 168, obv. 15.  
<sup>al</sup>ĶAR.NI.E: [372] 80-7-19, 26, obv. 14.  
<sup>mat</sup>ĶI.PA.NI: [323] K. 6005, obv. 7.  
<sup>mat</sup>ĶU.Ú[. ]: [624] K. 1213, obv. 5.  
<sup>al</sup>ĶU.DA.BA.TI: [315] K. 1402, obv. 7.  
<sup>al</sup><sup>ameš</sup>ĶU.DA.AI: [246] K. 669, obv. 5.  
<sup>al</sup>ĶU.UN.BU.NA: [317] K. 5291, obv. 7.  
<sup>al</sup>ĶU.RA.NI: [480] K. 8402, obv. 6.  
<sup>nar</sup>ĶUR.BU: [490] K. 746, obv. 2.

- <sup>am</sup>el<sup>1</sup>KUR.RA.AI: [251] K. 506, obv. 4, 8, [388] R<sup>m</sup> 2, 463, obv. 6;  
<sup>ma</sup>t<sup>2</sup>Kur, [749] Sm. 1976, obv. 8; <sup>ma</sup>t<sup>2</sup>Kur-a,<sup>1</sup> [726] 80-7-19, 24, rv. 5;  
<sup>am</sup>el<sup>1</sup>Gu-ra-[ai], [76] K. 555, obv. 9.  
<sup>ma</sup>tRA.BI.TI: [542] K. 114, rv. 18.  
<sup>a</sup>lRA.DI.E: [281] K. 13, rv. 16; <sup>am</sup>el<sup>1</sup>Ra-di-a-ni, [102] K. 657, obv. 9,  
rv. 11.  
<sup>a</sup>lRA.HAR.RI.DA: [762] R<sup>m</sup> 2, 529, obv. 5.  
<sup>am</sup>el<sup>1</sup>RA.SI.TU: [848] K. 508, rv. 5.  
<sup>ma</sup>tRA.ŠAP.PA: [43] K. 122, obv. 14, 16, [767] 83-1-18, 75, obv. 10;  
<sup>ma</sup>t<sup>2</sup>Ra-ša-pa-ai, [594] K. 637, obv. 7.  
<sup>ma</sup>tRA.A.ŠU: [774] Bu. 89-4-26, 162, obv. 11, 12, rv. 17; <sup>am</sup>el<sup>1</sup><sup>ma</sup>t<sup>2</sup>  
Ra-ša-ai, [295] K. 1139, obv. 1; <sup>a</sup>l<sup>1</sup>Ra-ši, [169] K. 997, obv. 8.  
<sup>a</sup>lRI.<sup>1</sup>BAT: [804] K. 544, rv. 10, 11.  
<sup>ma</sup>t<sup>2</sup>RI.B[I- -]: [639] K. 8390, rv. 7.  
<sup>am</sup>el<sup>1</sup>RI.ĪI.KU.AI: [349] K. R<sup>m</sup> 78, rv. 5; <sup>ma</sup>t<sup>2</sup>Ra-ĥi-ĥa, [830] K.  
1376, rv. 6; <sup>ma</sup>t<sup>2</sup>Ru-ka-ĥa-ai, [94] K. 1147 + 1947, rv. 3.  
<sup>a</sup>lRI.MU.SU: [43] K. 122, obv. 23; <sup>a</sup>l<sup>1</sup>Ri-mu-sa, [102] K. 657, obv. 10.  
<sup>ma</sup>t<sup>2</sup>RU.<sup>1</sup>: [158] K. 530, obv. 4, 9; <sup>a</sup>l<sup>1</sup>Ru-<sup>1</sup>-ú-a, [268] K. 514, obv. 10;  
<sup>am</sup>el<sup>1</sup>Ru-ú-ai, [287] K. 94, obv. 6.  
<sup>ma</sup>t<sup>2</sup>RU.BU.<sup>1</sup>: [830] K. 1376, obv. 11.  
<sup>am</sup>el<sup>1</sup>RU.ZA.PI.<sup>1</sup>:<sup>3</sup> [846] K. 673, rv. 3.  
<sup>a</sup>lSA.BA.ĤA.NI: [388] R<sup>m</sup> 2, 463, obv. 8; <sup>a</sup>l<sup>1</sup>Sab-ĥa-a-ni, [524]  
K. 588, obv. 3.  
<sup>a</sup>lSA.DI.RI: [602] K. 1127, obv. 13.  
<sup>ma</sup>t<sup>2</sup>SA.DU.DA.AI: [198] K. 5464, rv. 22.  
<sup>a</sup>lSA.LA.[.]: [174] K. 619, rv. 8.  
<sup>a</sup>lSA.LAM.ME.E: [726] 80-7-19, 24, rv. 11.  
<sup>a</sup>lSA.MA.AL.LA: [633] K. 1366, obv. 7.  
<sup>a</sup>lSA.MIR.I.NA.AI: [633] K. 1366, obv. 5.  
<sup>a</sup>lSA.AN.ĤA: [342] 79-7-8, 234, obv. 5.  
<sup>a</sup>lSA.AN.IR: [129] K. 5458, rv. 19.  
<sup>a</sup>lSA.PÁR.[RAT(?)].TE: [87] K. 466, obv. 9, rv. 13.  
<sup>a</sup>lSA.PI.A: [314] K. 1227, obv. 10; <sup>a</sup>l<sup>1</sup>Sa-pi-ai, [762] R<sup>m</sup> 2, 529, obv. 7.  
<sup>a</sup>lSA.RAP.NA.AI: [572] K. 1001, obv. 8, rv. 14.  
<sup>a</sup>lSA.SI.ĶA.NI: [52] K. 80, rv. 1.  
<sup>a</sup>lSA.RI.E: [192] K. 146, obv. 11, 14, [635] K. 1516, rv. 1.  
<sup>a</sup>lSA.ZA.NA.A: [414] R<sup>m</sup> 77, rv. 4.  
<sup>a</sup>lSI.ĤA.NA: [448] K. 826, obv. 5.  
<sup>a</sup>lSI.<sup>1</sup>.ME.E: [538] K. 531, obv. 13, [575] K. 1005, obv. 8, [585] K. 1098,  
obv. 5.  
<sup>a</sup>lSI.IN.NI: [482] 82-5-22, 104, obv. 8; <sup>a</sup>l<sup>1</sup>Si-na-ai, [331] K. 581, rv. 4.

<sup>1</sup>Not certain, if a belongs to the name.<sup>2</sup>Or Di, Dai; possibly <sup>a</sup>lDil-bat is meant here; see Johns, *AJSL*, Vol. XXII, p. 231.<sup>3</sup>Or iĥ.

- SIPPAR (=TAM.KIB.ŠIL)<sup>k1</sup>: [186] K. 11, rv. 16, [418] Sm. 1028, rv. 4; Sip-par<sup>k1</sup>, [464] K. 1519, obv. 4; Sip-pár<sup>k1</sup>, [516] 81-7-27, 31, obv. 18, [808] Bu. 91-5-9, 113, rv. 4; <sup>a1</sup>Sip-pár, [608] K. 1136, rv. 1; <sup>a1</sup>Si-par, [88] K. 507, rv. 5.
- SIPUR, see ŠIBAR.
- matSU.BAR.TI: [356] Bu. 89-4-26, 160, obv. 21.
- <sup>a1</sup>SU.DA.NI.NA: [425] Bu. 91-5-9, 105, obv. 10.
- matSU.ĤI: [547] K. 587, obv. 18; matSu-ĥa-ai, [813] K. 688, obv. 13, rv. 8.
- [. . .]SUK.KA.AI: [767] 83-1-18, 75, obv. 8.
- matSU.UM.BI: [312] K. 689, obv. 16.
- <sup>a1</sup>SU.RI.A.NA.AI: [112] K. 485, rv. 5.
- matSU.TU.U: [629] K. 1263, obv. 22.
- narŠALMU: [380] Rm 2, 3, obv. 8.
- <sup>a1</sup>ŠI.BAR[. . .]: [52] K. 80, obv. 11; <sup>a1</sup>Si-pur, [320] K. 7473, obv. 8, [745] 82-5-22, 141, rv. 6.
- matŠI.BA.TU.NU: [576] K. 1009, obv. 18.
- <sup>a1</sup>ŠI.DU.NA.AI: [175] K. 614, obv. 6.
- <sup>a1</sup>ŠI.MI.RI: [190] K. 596, obv. 21.
- <sup>a1</sup>ŠU.PI.TE: [414] Rm 77, rv. 11; <sup>a1</sup>Šip-te, [95] K. 1151, rv. 5, 7, [ ] Rm 77, 21, [608] K. 1136, rv. 1 (†).
- <sup>a1</sup>ŠÁ.BI.RI.ŠU: [167] K. 582, obv. 9, 19; <sup>a1</sup>Ša-bi-ri-šu, [252] K. 525, obv. 5, [729] Sm. 521, obv. 6.
- <sup>a1</sup>ŠA.AĤ.HU.UŠ.TI: [267] K. 462, rv. 9.
- amelŠAL.LU.UK.KI.E.A: [281] K. 13, obv. 21; amelŠal-lu-ki-si-a, [789] K. 1964, obv. 7.
- <sup>a1</sup>ŠA.MAN.A.KU: [516] 81-7-8, 31, obv. 12.
- <sup>a1</sup>ŠAMAŠ.NÂŠIRI: [168] K. 63b, obv. 7, 10, 13, 17.
- <sup>a1</sup>ŠA.MA.Ú.NU: [774] Bu. 89-4-26, 167, obv. 5.
- matŠA.NI.TI: [476] 83-1-18, 5, rv. 22.
- matŠA.PAR.DA: [645] Rm 2, 464, rv. 3.
- <sup>a1</sup>ŠA.RA.GI.TI: [617] K. 1167, rv. 7.
- <sup>a1</sup>ŠA.RIŠ: [43] K. 122, obv. 22.
- narŠARRI: [275] K. 82, rv. 4.
- matŠA.AT.TE.RA: [646] 79-7-8, 292, obv. 13.
- <sup>a1</sup>ŠE.NU: [602] K. 1127, obv. 12.
- matŠI.IB[. . .]UR: [646] 79-7-8, 292, obv. 11.
- <sup>a1</sup>ŠI.I.TAB.NI: [578] K. 1018, rv. 9.
- matŠÚ.UB.RI.AI: [507] K. 1077, obv. 7, [705] 82-5-22, 109, obv. 7; matŠub-ri-ai, [138] K. 469, obv. 14, 19; matŠú-bur-a, [251] K. 506, obv. 11, 19; matŠú-bur-ai, [251] K. 506, obv. 22 [252] K. 525, obv. 5.
- <sup>a1</sup>ŠÚ.ĤA.RI.SU.UN.GUR: [281] K. 13, obv. 13.
- <sup>a1</sup>ŠU.ĤU.PA: [649] 81-2-4, 110, rv. 5.

- $\text{mat}\check{\text{S}}\text{UN.GI.BU.TU}$ : [174] K. 619, obv. 11.  
 $\text{a}^1\check{\text{S}}\check{\text{U}}.\text{RU.BA}$ : [424] Sm. 760, rv. 18.  
 $\text{a}^1\check{\text{S}}\check{\text{U}}.\check{\text{S}}\text{A.AN}$ : [280] K. 10, obv. 13.  
 $\text{matTA.BAL}$ : [197] K. 181, rv. 28;  $\text{matTa-bal-ai}$ , [602] K. 1127, obv. 4, 11; [ $\text{matTa}$ ]-bal-ai: [556] K. 683, obv. 20; [ $\text{matTa}$ ]-ab-al-la-a, [890] K. 1376, rv. 1.  
 $\text{a}^1\text{TA.GA.LA.GI}$ : [408] Rm 2, 1, obv. 16, [701] Sm. 1338, obv. 17.  
 $\text{a}^1\text{TA.I.KU.IK.KI}$ : [462] K. 1374, obv. 20;  $\text{a}^1\text{Ta-i}$  . . . . ., [460] K. 1250, obv. 2.  
 $\text{narTAK.KA.DAP(?)}$ : [520] K. 680, obv. 8.  
 $\text{a}^1\text{TA.LA.AH}$ : [281] K. 13, obv. 10, rv. 15.  
 $\text{matTAM.TIM}$ : [210] K. 647, rv. 11, 14, 16, [267] K. 462, obv. 7, 9; [280] K. 10, obv. 5, [516] 81-7-27, 31, rv. 11, [520] K. 680, rv. 3, 24, [521] 83-1-18, 4, rv. 1, 3 *bis*, 25, [540] K. 87, rv. 7, [576] K. 1009, rv. 9, 11, [736] K. 1030, obv. 11, [795] Bu. 91-5-9, 107, obv. 6, [839] 83-1-18, 21, obv. 14, rv. 5, [859] 82-5-22, 132, obv. 14;  $\text{matTam-tim}^{\text{ki}}$ , [863] K. 1196, rv. 7;  $\text{amel}\check{\text{S}}\text{a matTam-tim}$ , [540] K. 87, rv. 6;  $\text{amel matTam-tim-ú-a}$ , [344] 83-1-18, 28, obv. 7;  $\text{matTam-ti}$ , [702] 81-2-4, 77, obv. 1;  $\text{amelTam-da-ai}$ , [839] 83-1-18, 21, obv. 21, rv. 4;  $\text{amel matTam-tim-ai}$ , [289] K. 312, obv. 1;  $\text{amel matTam-tim-ú-ai}$ , [521] 83-1-18, 4, rv. 9, [752] Rm 48, rv. 12.  
 $\text{a}^1\text{TAR.BI.ŠI}$ : [47] K. 979, obv. 8, [628] K. 1247, obv. 7.  
 $\text{a}^1\text{TAR.BU.SI.BI}$ : [642] K. 12046, obv. 4.  
 $\text{a}^1\text{TAR.GI.BA.A.TI}$ : [282] K. 524, rv. 3.  
 $\text{a}^1\text{TAR.HA.AI}$ : [635] K. 1516, rv. 6.  
 $\text{narTAR.TA.RI}$ : [547] K. 587, obv. 17.  
 $\text{mat(?)TA.TA.AI}$ : [649] 81-2-4, 110, obv. 9.  
 $\text{amelTA.ZI.RU}$ : [138] K. 469, rv. 11.  
 $\text{a}^1\text{TI.IG.RI.IŠ}$ : [342] 79-7-8, 234, rv. 1.  
 $\text{a}^1\text{TI.IL[. ]}$ : [282] K. 524, rv. 1.  
 $\text{a}^1\text{TIL BUR.SI.BI}$ : [322] K. 663, rv. 7.  
 $\text{a}^1\text{TIL TU.Ú.RI}$ : [131] K. 625, obv. 8.  
 $\text{matTU.A.NU}$ : [466] Sm. 51, obv. 10.  
 $\text{matTU.NI.TA.ŠÚ[. ]}$ : [698] Sm. 764 + Sm. 1650, obv. 14.  
 $\text{a}^1\text{TÚ.NU.NA}$ : [43] K. 122, obv. 22.  
 $\text{nar(?)TUR.NU}$ : [503] K. 667, rv. 16.  
 $\text{a}^1\text{TUR.UP[. ]}$ : [390] Sm. 1046, obv. 15.  
 $\text{a}^1\text{TU.UR.UŠ.PA.A}$ : [144] K. 194, obv. 8, 15, 16, [146] K. 1080, rv. 9, [148] K. 1907, obv. 4, [444] K. 645, obv. 19, [492] 81-2-4, 60, obv. 5;  $\text{a}^1\text{Tu-ru-uš-pa-a}$ , [381] 81-2-4, 55, rv. 5, [424] Sm. 760, obv. 13;  $\text{a}^1\text{Tu-ru-uš-pi-a}$ , [123] K. 574, rv. 4.  
 $\text{matÚ.A.ZA.E}$ : [646] 79-7-8, 292, obv. 10;  $\text{matÚ-a-za-un}$ , [197] K. 181, rv. 3.

- <sup>a1</sup>Ū.E.SI: [198] K. 5464, rv. 2, [380] Rm 2, 3, rv. 6, [444] K. 645, obv. 5, 14, [492] 81-2-4, 60, obv. 9, [515] K. 621, obv. 7; <sup>a1</sup>Ū-ai-si, [198] K. 5464, obv. 27, 29; <sup>a1</sup>U-a-si, [409] Rm 2, 2, obv. 9, 14.
- amelŪ.BA.AI.NA.AT: [282] K. 524, rv. 12.
- <sup>a1</sup>Ū.BA.SI.E: [433] 79-7-8, 138, obv. 5, [626] K. 1233, rv. 7.
- matŪ.KA.AI: [145] K. 910, obv. 4, [198] K. 5464, rv. 12, 15, [380] Rm 2, 3, rv. 1, [444] K. 645, obv. 8, [619] K. 1182, obv. 9; matU-ka-ai, [409] Rm 2, 2, obv. 10; matUk-ka-ai, [197] K. 181, obv. 8, 20.
- amelUK.KA.AI: [101] K. 561, obv. 7, 14, 17, rv. 1, 19, [104] K. 1195, obv. 5; matU<sup>1</sup>-ka-ai, [490] K. 746, obv. 3.
- narŪ.LA.AI: [281] K. 13, obv. 9.
- matŪ.LI.AI: [619] K. 1182, obv. 9; mat'-li-e, [520] K. 680, obv. 12.
- <sup>a1</sup>Ū.LU.ŠI.A: [342] 79-7-8, 234, obv. 6.
- <sup>a1</sup>Ū.MAR: [112] K. 485, obv. 16.
- <sup>a1</sup>Ū.PI.A: [89] K. 515, obv. 12, rv. 7; <sup>a1</sup>Ū-pi-i, [608] K. 1136, rv. 7; <sup>a1</sup>Ū-pi-ia, [795] Bu. 91-5-9, 107, rv. 10; <sup>a1</sup>Ū-pi-i, [504] K. 1176, obv. 11.
- šadUP.PA.AI: [88] K. 507, rv. 4.
- UR[=ŠEŠ.URU<sup>k1</sup>]: [38] K. 1049, rv. 5; amelŠeš-uru<sup>k1</sup>-ai, [753] 82-5-2, 111, rv. 7.
- <sup>a1</sup>Ū.RA: [490] K. 746, rv. 3.
- matŪ.RA.AR.ṬA.AI: [123] K. 574, obv. 6; matUrarṭu, [101] K. 561, obv. 8, [112] K. 485, obv. 8, rv. 6, [145] K. 910, obv. 5, [146] K. 1080, obv. 6, [434] Bu. 89-4-26, 163, obv. 10, [544] K. 464, rv. 2, [596] K. 1120, obv. 5, [705] 82-5-22, 109, rv. 3; matUrarṭa-a, [251] K. 506, obv. 9; matUrarṭa-ai, [139] K. 1067, obv. 9, rv. 9, [144] K. 194, obv. 7, [146] K. 1080, obv. 7, 8, 10, [205] K. 537, obv. 5, [215] K. 1037, obv. 3, [252] K. 525, obv. 9, [306] K. 622, obv. 4, [381] 81-2-4, 55, obv. 5, rv. 4, [409] Rm 2, 2, obv. 5, [424] Sm. 760, obv. 6, [515] K. 621, obv. 4, [548] K. 593, obv. 6; amel matUrarṭa-ai, [492] 81-2-4, 60, obv. 5.
- <sup>a1</sup>UR.IA.KU: [645] Rm 2, 464, obv. 13, [713] Rm 59, obv. 7; <sup>a1</sup>Ur-ia-ak-ai, [713] Rm 59, obv. 12.
- URUK<sup>k1</sup>: [202] K. 83, rv. 4, [266] K. 79, rv. 3, 11, [267] K. 462, obv. 14, [274] K. 81, obv. 20, rv. 3, 6, [451] K. 924, obv. 12, 13, [469] 48-11-4, 282, obv. 13, 16, rv. 7, 13, [472] 80-7-19, 46, obv. 5, [476] 83-1-18, 5, obv. 18, 29, rv. 3, [572] K. 1001, obv. 9, [589] K. 1106, rv. 4, [622] K. 1210, rv. 3, [747] K. 923, obv. 7, [751] Sm. 920, obv. 3, 5, [752] Rm 48, obv. 2, 4, [753] 82-5-2, 111, obv. 3, 4, rv. 3, 11, [754] K. 5457, obv. 2, 3, [755] 83-1-18, 122, obv. 2, [815] 48-7-20, 116, obv. 2, 4, 7, 8, rv. 4, 9, 22, [831] K. 470, rv. 13, [866] 81-2-4, 93, obv. 3, 12; Uruk<sup>k1</sup>-ai, [754] K. 5457, obv. 10, 27; <sup>a1</sup>Ū-ru-uk, [314] K. 1227, obv. 9; Uruk, [247] K. 1027, obv. 8; amelUruk<sup>k1</sup> pl., [296] 1162, obv. 2, [297] K. 1271,

- obv. 2, [518] 83-1-18, 27, obv. 2; *amēl al Uruk<sup>ki</sup>-ai*, [70] K. 1070, obv. 6, [753] 82-5-2, 11, rv. 3; *amēl Uruk<sup>ki</sup>-ai*, [201] K. 647, rv. 13, [277] K. 4736, rv. 4, 6, [472] 80-7-19, 46, obv. 6, [476] 83-1-18, 5, obv. 6, [527] K. 830, rv. 9, [589] K. 1106, rv. 7, [753] 82-5-2, 111, rv. 3, 11, [815] 48-7-20, 116, obv. 2, 4.
- al UR.ZU.ĦI.NA*: [192] K. 146, obv. 7, [306] K. 622, obv. 7, 22, [408] Rm 2, 1, obv. 8, 18, 23, rv. 8, 31, [529] K. 1252a, obv. 8, rv. 2, 15; *al Ur-zu-ĥi-na-ai*, [599] K. 1124, rv. 2.
- al amēl UŠ.ĦA.AI*: [246] K. 669, obv. 4.
- mat Ū.Š Ū.Ū*: [800] K. 7424, obv. 8.
- al Ū.ÇUR.<sup>11a</sup> ADAD*: [763] 81-2-4, 126, rv. 4.
- al Ū.TU*: [589] K. 1106, rv. 4.
- nar ZA.[BA?]*. [583] K. 1094, obv. 5.
- al ZAB.BAN*: [641] K. 9389, obv. 4; *al Za-ban*, [311] K. 630, obv. 10; *al Za-an-ban*, [516] 81-7-27, 31, obv. 17.
- al ZAB.DA.NU*: [280] K. 10, obv. 7, 8.
- al ZA.AD.DI*: [522] K. 498, rv. 2.
- mat ZA.LI.PA.AI*: [165] K. 497, obv. 6, rv. 10.
- mat ZA.[. .]ME*: [771] 83-1-18, 49, obv. 8; *mat Za-me*, [754] K. 5457, obv. 12.
- mat ZA.MU.A*: [684] 80-7-19, 37, rv. 5; *mat Za-mu-u*, [311] K. 630, rv. 4, [582] K. 1093, rv. 1.
- al ZA.NA.KI*: [846] K. 673, obv. 8; *amēl al Za-na-ki-ú-a* [846] K. 673, rv. 8; *šal al Za-na-ki-i-tú*, [846] K. 673, rv. 5.
- nar ZA.NA.NI*: [485] K. 1061, obv. 5.
- mat ZI.KI.RA.AI*: [515] K. 621, obv. 6; *mat Zi-kir-ta-ai*, [198] K. 5464, obv. 25, [215] K. 1037, rv. 6; *amēl Zi-kir-ta-ai*, [205] K. 537, obv. 4, 6, 9.
- mat ZI.KI.TI.A*: [515] K. 621, obv. 15.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND BOOKS QUOTED

- ABL.** = Robert Francis Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, Vols. I-VIII.  
**AC., I.** = O. A. Toffteen, *Ancient Chronology*, Part I.  
**ADD.** = Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, Vols. I and II.  
**AJSL.** = *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*.  
**AL.** = Winckler, *The Tell el-Amarna Letters*.  
**An.** = *Annals*.  
**Anp.** = Ashurnasirpal.  
**Bez. Cat.** = Bezold, *Catalogue*.  
**Billerbeck**, *Sandshak-Suleimania*.  
**Breasted**, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vols. I-V.  
**Brünnow**, *Classified List*.  
**Cyl.** = Cylinder.  
**Delattre**, *Le peuple et l'empire de Mèdes*.  
**Delitzsch**, *Assyrische Grammatik; Assyrisches Handwörterbuch; Wo lag das Paradies?*  
**HL.** = King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, Vols. I-III.  
**Hommel**, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*.  
**Johnston**, *The Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians*.  
**K.** = Kouyunjik.  
**KAT.<sup>s</sup>** = *Keilinschriften und das alte Testament*, 3te.  
**KB.** = *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Vols. I-VI.  
**Knudtzon**, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*.  
**Meissner**, *Beiträge zur altbabylonischen Privatrecht*.  
**Mon.** = Monolith.  
**Müldter-Delitzsch**, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*.  
**Muss-Arnolt**, *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*.  
**MVG.** = *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*.  
**Ob.** = Obelisk.  
**Paton**, *The Early History of Syria and Palestine*.  
**PSBA.** = *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.  
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